PLANNING HISTORY

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY

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EDITORIAL

MICHAEL HARRISON, UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL ENGLAND

The last issue concentrated on Australia, and this provided the bulletin with a greater degree of thematic unity than usual. It also illustrated the vitality of the Australian section of the IPHS, a feeling that is reinforced by the knowledge that they have just had their Second Australian Planning History Conference. Volume 17 (1) of *Planning History* also carried a report on the third Symposium of the South African Planning History Study Group. This issue also contains an article on, and from, South Africa. Here is evidence of another active group. As editor, I am appreciative of the efforts of members of the Editorial Board, like Robert Freestone and John Muller, who send me information and channel copy from their part of the world.

Having concentrated on one country in the last issue, this one ranges far and wide, with pieces on the United Kingdom, China, Latvia and South Africa. In doing so, it reflects the geographical spread of the IPHS membership. The contributors to the Australian special issue largely adopted a biographical approach, the articles in this issue show a diversity of approach to planning history. Some, like Wallace van Zyl relate the past to the present in a direct way. Others follow more orthodox historical paths. Paul Taylor, for example, in his analysis of wartime housing programme in Britain, stresses the legislative pattern and the administrative processes. Zhang Bing, in his study of Shanghai, relates political events to the physical plans produced for the city. Others, like Irene Bakule in her piece on the garden suburb at Riga, emphasise architectural style and the landscape. Peter Larkham and Gary Woodward remind us that all the answers are not necessarily to be found in the archives, important though they may be. Only a few historians have used oral history techniques to enrich their work. Many of those who have tended to concentrate on the great and the powerful. Larkham reminds us that lower-to-middle ranking officials can provide useful leads. Systematic interviews could also be a useful means of providing a consumer's view of planning history, especially when balanced against other sources. As long ago as 1974, Alison Ravetz, in *Model Estate* , a study of the Quarry Hill Estate in Leeds, showed the way.

Although a number of studies in English of Shanghai exist, Zhang Bing offers us an interesting interpretation of the period 1927-1949. In particular, he challenges the local orthodoxy about the Soviet influence on Chinese planning and stresses the impact of western ideas. He traces the way in which up-to-date ideas brought back from Europe and America were incorporated into the City Plan for Greater Shanghai.

It is also interesting to compare, in Irene Bakule's study, the impact of the Modern Movement on the design of the dwellings of the garden suburb at Riga in the early 1930s. Clearly modern western ideas about architecture and town planning were being transmitted around the world at this time, although these ideas were often modified when used elsewhere.

The background to a number of the studies in this issue is that of war or political turbulence. It is apparent in the essays by Bing, Bakule and van Zyl. It is central to Taylor's piece. A number of researchers have looked at the estates built in Britain during the First World War, but little has been written about the housing programmes of the 1939-1945 period. Taylor's work could be usefully complemented by a study of the house designs and the layout of these estates and their relationship to post-war schemes. In their research article, Larkham and Woodward offer some useful advice to those wishing to explore the planning history of Britain in the period since the Second World War.

Irene Bakule touches on the problems associated with maintaining the architectural and planning heritage in a society in flux. This issue is also addressed in the article on conservation in Kimberley by William van Zyl. Where does conservation come in that list of priorities drawn up by politicians, planners and developers. Whose heritage is being conserved, and why? What should be done with it when we have decided that it should be saved?

I hope this issue offers not only geographical breadth, but also academic diversity. Planning history is still a relatively young subject. For it to thrive, we should encourage diversity and a questioning attitude, and from the ensuing debates and challenges we can hope that it will mature, blossom and thrive.

NOTICES

Strategies of Intervention in Historic Areas
First International Conference on the Rehabilitation of Urban Centres
7-11 August 1995, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, Departamento de Arquitetura, Mestrado em Desenvolvimento Urbano, Recife, Brazil

The purpose of this conference is to provide a forum for presentations about current issues and topics in rehabilitation of urban centres by discussing governmental and private strategies underlying successful experiences in Brazil and other countries.

The major themes to be addressed in the conference are: Policies and proceedings adopted by governments and private institutions in the process of rehabilitation of historic areas; and The relationship between the various agents involved in the process of design and implementation of large-scale urban programmes and projects.

For information contact: Mestrado em Desevolvimento Urbano, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, Cidade Universitaria, 50 741-530 Recife PE, Brazil. Tel./Fax: (55-81) 271 83 11.

The Centre of Contemporary Culture of Barcelona
The Historical Atlas of European Cities

The Centre of Contemporary Culture of Barcelona (CCCB) was set up in 1988 and opened to the public in February 1994. The centre is governed by the *Disputacio* (provincial council) of Barcelona and the City Council of Barcelona. It is a thematic, multi-disciplinary and multi-functional cultural centre, with the city as the main theme and focal point of its activities. The CCCB has three main areas of activity: research,

diffusion and training. Alongside these, the centre promotes reflection on, and analysis of, cities from a variety of viewpoints, using exhibitions, courses, seminars and publications.

The Historical Atlas of European Cities is one of the most ambitious publishing projects undertaken by the CCCB. Bringing together a significant number of specialists in urban planning and the history of cities, the Atlas project combines both research and educational objectives. The Atlas aims to provide a synthesizing explanation of the development and current configuration of the principal cities of modern Europe, with special attention being given to the changes taking place in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The project has the following objectives: to gather, compile and make available a significant amount of information on one hundred European cities, chosen because of their importance of their role in the history of Europe; to promote an understanding of the history of each of these cities and show the development of the urban network of which they are a part. The aim is to provide a *comparative approach* to the cities and urban networks covered.

The *Historical Atlas of European Cities* will consist of ten volumes, each one covering a specific geographical area. The first volume, covering eleven cities in the Iberian Peninsula, was published in December 1994. This will be followed by volumes on France, Great Britain and Germany (now in progress) and others covering Italy, Scandinavia, etc.

The Atlas is a collective work, with more than 300 contributors, who come from a wide variety of disciplines: cartography, urban studies, art history, architecture, urban history and planning.The scheme is directed and co-ordinated from the CCCB, where the processing of the

texts and thematic maps is also undertaken.

The Centre is also involved in a Postgraduate Course in Urban History: 'Urbanismo, Ciudad, Historia'. The tutors, all lecturers at the Polytechnical University of Catalonia, are members of the co-ordinating team for the Atlas.

To obtain further information about the Atlas, the Urban History programme or about the other work and publications of the Centre de Cultura Contemporania de Barcelona write to F. Javier Monclus or the Secretary, F. Meler, CCCB, Montalegre, 5, 08001 Barcelona, Spain. Tel.: (9) 3-4120781/82, Fax: (9) 3-4120520.

Evolving Environmental Ideals Changing Ways of Life, Values and Design Practices
IAPS 14 Conference
Stockholm, 30 July-3 August 1996

CALL FOR PAPERS

The conference will focus on a discussion between social, behavioural and architectural scientists, ecologists, designers and planners. It should articulate the role of the built environment in ecologically conscious sustainable development. Other contemporary areas of interest in design research and its ecological implications for the built environment include: Cultural and social responses to environmental changes; Anti-consumerist ways of life; Housing and other aspects of design.

The conference includes plenary sessions, small groups, excursions, exhibitions and book displays. It is intended that that the proceedings will be published after the conference. Papers, in English or French, are welcome. Instructions to authors will be sent to those who apply for more information. The deadline for 200-

250 word abstracts is 31 October 1995.

The International Association for People-Environment Studies (IAPS) is organising the conference together with the Department of Architecture and Town Planning at the Royal Institute of Technology (KTH), Stockholm and the Nordic Association for Architectural Research (NA).

Further information is available from IAPS 14 Secretariat, Department of Architecture and Town Planning, Royal Institute of Technology, S-100 44 Stockholm, Sweden. Tel.: +46 8 790 85 22, Fax :+46 8 790 85 80 (Dick Urban Vestbro), E-mail: dickurba@arch.kth.se.; Tel. and Fax: +46 8 643 11 73 (Madi Gray).

Folk Architecture of Pernambuco, Brazil

Professor Maria de Betania Cavalcanti is leading a group that is currently researching the folk architecture of the Atlantic Forest Region of Pernambuco in north-eastern Brazil. The original tropical forest of the Atlantic coastal strip, or *Zona da Mata*, was destroyed by Portuguese colonisers in the sixteenth century. The traditional role of Pernambuco as the main producer of sugar, and the alcohol derived from sugar dates from this time.

The common man of the *Zona da Mata* builds his own house. This anonymous artificer has been the main contributor to the distinctive architecture of his villages and townships. The folk architect struggles against hardship to make a home for himself and his family. He uses local materials, wood, clay and brick, to construct wattle-and-daub taipa walls. The straightforward technology of these buildings is common knowledge that is handed down from one generation to another.

The ingenious coloured

decoration of the facades of the small terraced houses reveals the taste and style of the common man. His house is more than a mere shelter. The houses built by the poor are described by Ariano Suassuna, in *Pinturas e Platibanas* (1987), as "a protest against the misery, the dreariness, the ugliness, the routine and the monotony of their lives".

Folk architecture in the *Zona da Mata* is chiefly characterised by the colour-wash facades of the small terraced houses. The *platibanda*, the extension of the facade above the ceiling line, freely combines Classical and Art Deco elements in accentuated geometric friezes. The resulting composition enlists erudite architectural principles into the richly inventive folk vocabulary of a design imbued with the personal character, the symbolism and the creativity of the common man.

Professor Maria de Betania Cavalcanti can be reached at the Departamento de Arquitetura e Urbanismo, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, Avenida Reitores s/n Cidade Universitaria, Recife, Pernambuco, 50732-970, Brasil, Fax: +081-271 83 00, E-mail: mcavalcanti@npd.ufpe.br.

Joint ACSP/AESOP Congress Toronto 24-28 July 1996 Planning History Track

ADVANCE NOTICE AND CALL FOR PAPERS

Although full details are not yet available, all planning historians should note this very important conference to be held jointly by the North American Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning and the Association of European Schools of Planning. This follows the previous, and highly successful, first joint conference held at Oxford, UK in 1991. The Oxford conference attracted over

House in the village of Camelan, in the Atlantic Forest region of Pernambuco, Brazil.

700 delegates, probably the largest ever gathering of planning educators. The Toronto conference promises to be on a similar scale and will provide an unrivalled opportunity to meet those involved in the planning education world.

The bulk of the conference is organised in simultaneous sessions of thematic tracks. One of these will be, as in Oxford, on planning history (a detailed report of that track was included in *Planning History* Vol.13, No.3, 1991). Each track has two co-ordinating chairs who are responsible for putting together the programme from the offered papers. One chair is from Europe, the other is from North America. The European co-ordinator is Professor Stephen V. Ward of Oxford Brookes University, UK. The name of the North American co-ordinator was not available at the time of going to print, but is likely to be announced shortly.

It is extremely important that as many planning historians as possible offer papers, to assert the importance of the subject within planning education generally. The

European track chair is therefore inserting this advance notice for the special attention of the members of the International Planning History Society, not all of whom may see the main call for papers. No theme guidelines are yet available for the overall conference, though experience suggests that these would, in any case, be fairly general and impose few restrictions. Obviously though, papers which have some international or transatlantic resonance are likely to be particularly easy to incorporate in the programme, subject to the usual academic criteria.

Selection of papers will take account of academic and subject criteria. There is an intention also to seek a broad balance of North American and European papers. The organisers' advice is that over thirty papers can be presented in a single track, though they also indicate that it may be possible to increase this number by running some sessions in parallel, if demand justifies. It would be very nice to be in this position and a very good advertisement for the healthy state of planning history. In addition, poster sessions are

envisaged allowing many more people to present aspects of their work.

IPHS members who are also members of ACSP or AESOP will, no doubt, see the official call for papers at about the same time as they receive this issue of *Planning History*. However, any IPHS member who wishes to offer a paper for the planning history track is invited to submit a short abstract (about 250 words) together with a very brief *curriculum vitae* and full contact details. These should be sent as soon as possible to:

Professor Stephen V. Ward, ACSP/AESOP Planning History Track Co-chair, School of Planning, Oxford Brookes University, Headington, Oxford OX3 0BP, United Kingdom, Fax: +44 1865 483559.

Unfortunately, the closing date for the call for papers is not currently available. It was, however, felt important to bring this major opportunity to the immediate attention of IPHS members. Fuller details of the Congress will be reported as they become available.
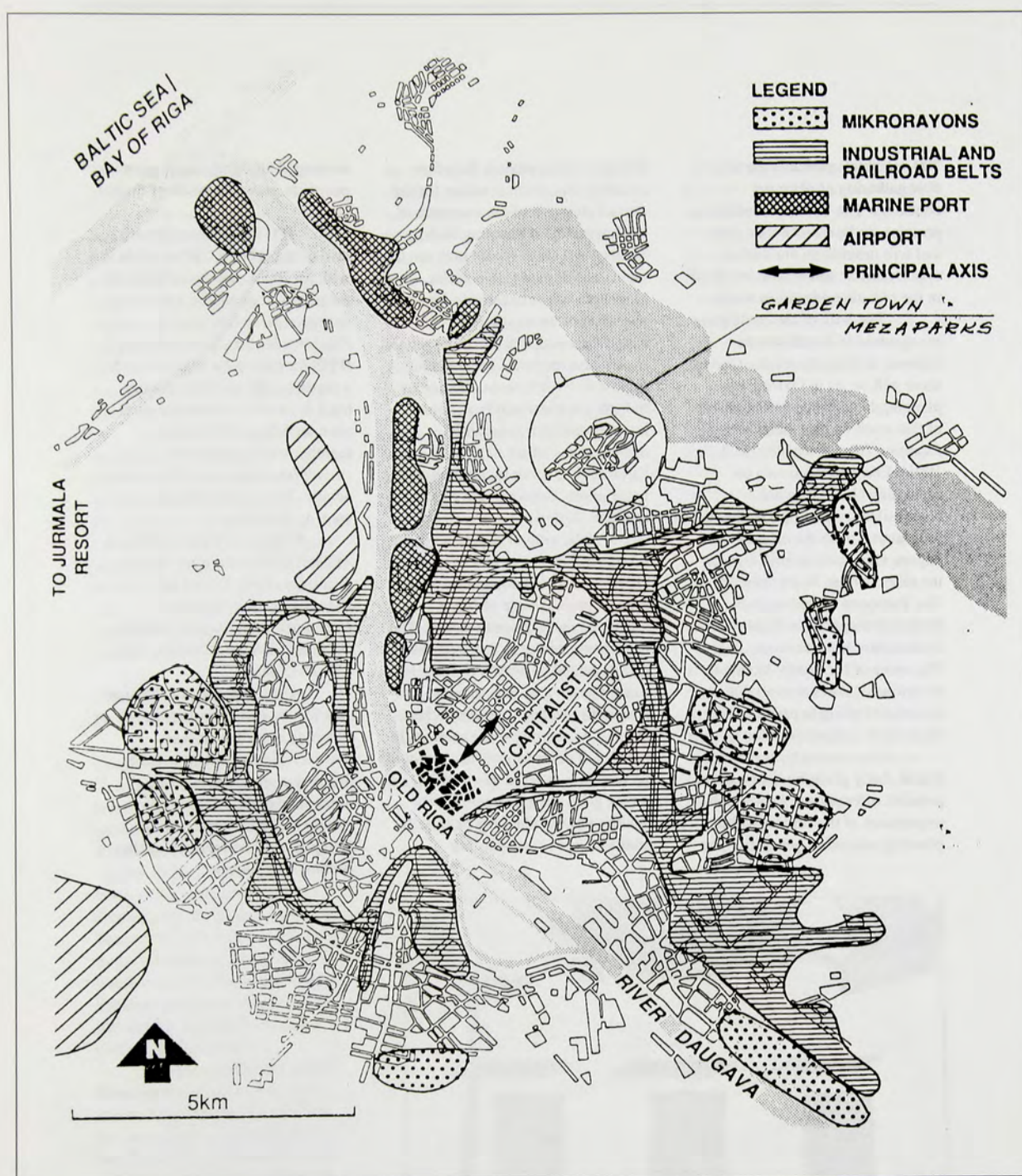
Figure 1. A plan of Riga showing the location of the 'garden town'.

RIGA GARDEN SUBURB

IRENE BAKULE, RIGA, LATVIA

At the beginning of the twentieth century on the northern outskirts of Riga a 'garden town', or, more accurately, a garden suburb, was created. It was the first realised project in Eastern Europe based on Ebenezer Howard's ideas.[2] The initiator of the idea to create a garden suburb in Riga was the chief engineer of Riga, A. Agthe. The chosen area for for the development was a hilly pine forest overlooking Lake Kisezers.[3] The first plan for the new garden suburb was created by the director of parks for Riga, Georg Kuphalt, who was well-known as a landscape architect and planner (Fig.1).[4]

During the period from 1901 to 1909 the area was divide up into a series of plots and a street network was created. A tram line from the centre of Riga to the settlement was also constructed. Eighteen villas had been constructed on the site by 1906. By 1910, the number of dwellings had doubled. A number of famous architects, such as R. Dohnberg,[5] F. Seheffel,[6] A. Witte[7] and O. Bars,[8] worked there. Although the initial aim had been to erect an appealing residential environment at the lowest possible cost for working class families, the villas that were built were occupied by architects, lawyers, doctors, intellectuals and other well-off citizens of Riga.[9]

Most of the houses erected during this early priod of development were timber-framed constructions on stone foundations, and were wood panelled or plastered on the exterior. Gabled roofs, usually steeply pitched with cross gables, were covered with red tiles and had exposed rafter ends. The gables had decorative trusses at the apex and overhanging eaves. The wooden walls were decorated with horizontal, vertical or diagonal boards, which were raised from the wall surface for emphasis. Mansard roofs, oriel and bay windows were commonly used. Some houses had square or rectangular towers (Figs. 2 and 4).

The style that was used during this early period probably grew from the Picturesque Gothic ideas of Andrew J. Downing. It could be taken from popular house pattern books of the second half of the nineteenth century. This style was seldom applied to urban houses because its emphasis on high, multiple gables and wide porches did not physically lend itself to narrow, urban lots. The possibility of building more spacious villas in the natural landscape encouraged architects to use these patterns when working on projects for the garden
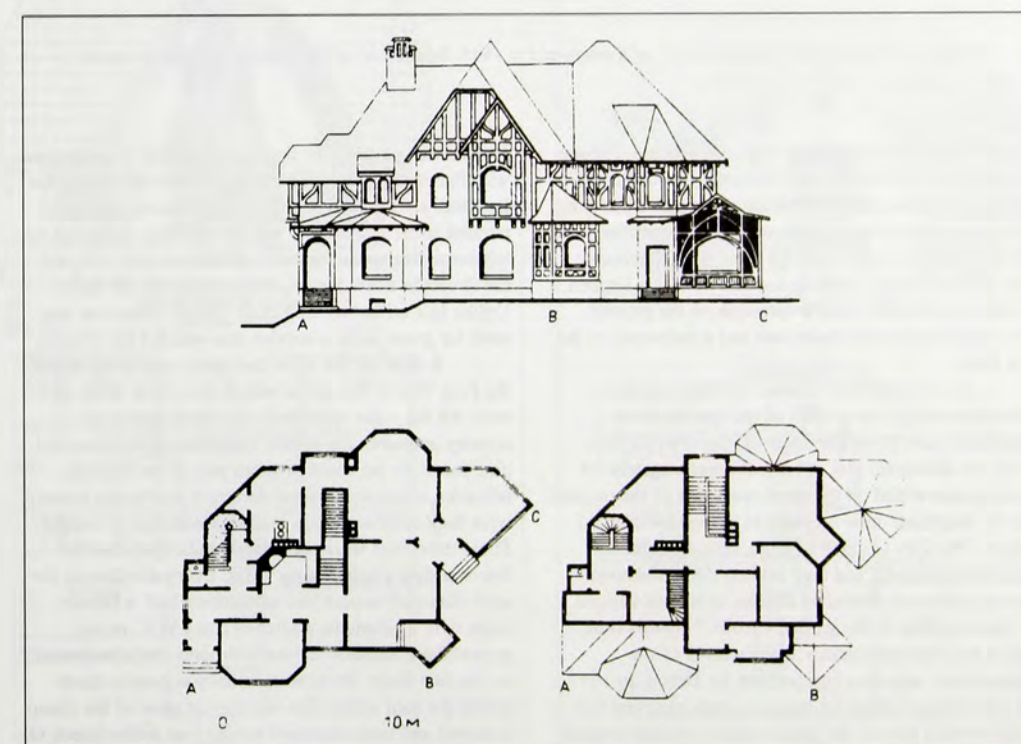

Figure 2. Villa, 25 Hamburg str. (O. Bars, 1910) LCVVA f. 2761, a.3,1. 12252.
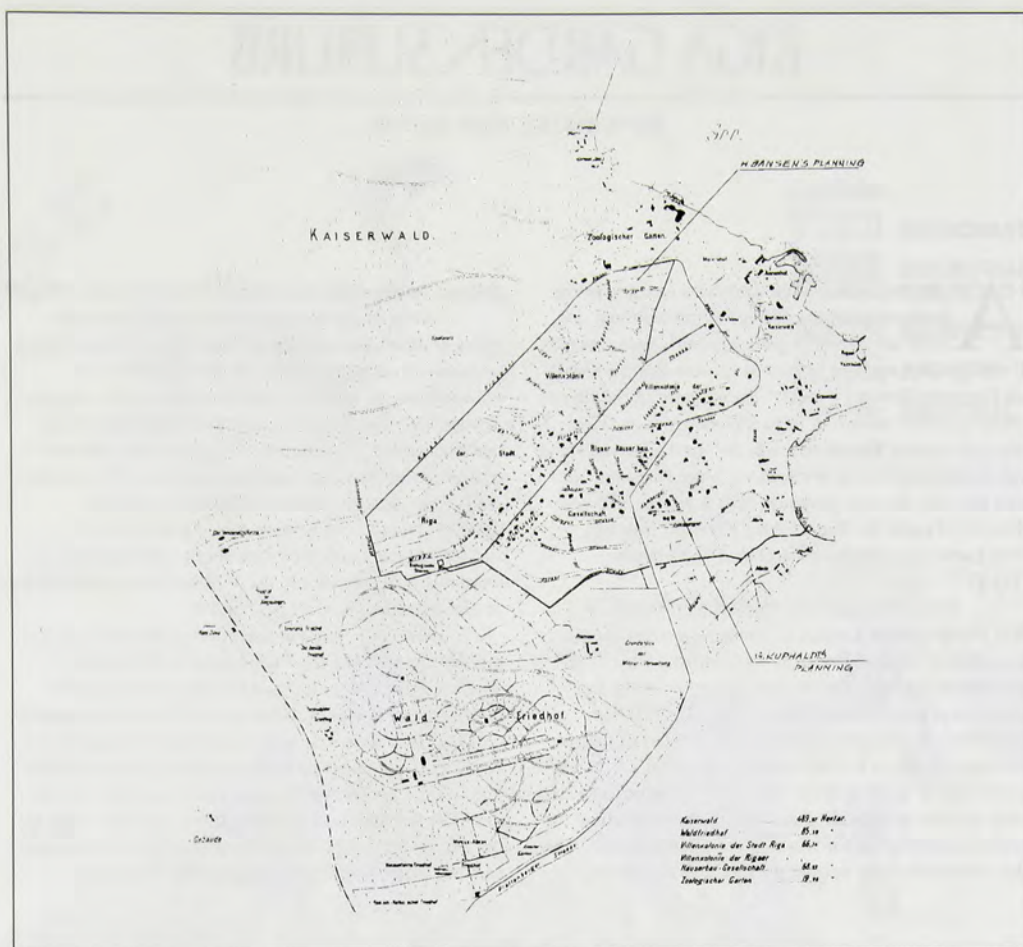
Figure 3. Plan of the "garden town" of Kaiserwald in 1918. Inspection of Monuments of Riga Archives.

suburb. Only a few buildings were constructed of stone at that time. Art Nouveau and National Romanticism were the dominant styles for interior design. Villas were built to a height of one or two storeys and contained eight or more rooms. As a rule, there was an entrance hall, a family room, a dining room, a library, a kitchen, a cleaner's room, W.C. and a verandah on the ground floor and four or more bedrooms and a bathroom on the first floor.

In 1910, the City Council of Riga decided to further encourage the growth of the 'garden town', which had been given the name of Kaiserwald. As a result, an additional plot of land of approximately 40 hectares was added on the north-west side of the original site. G. Kuphaldt drew up plans to extend his original project. The City Council of Riga, however, did not accept his proposal, and they invited the well-known German architect, Hermann Jansen, to submit designs for the extension to the garden suburb.[10] By this time Jansen had become famous as the winner of the international planning competition for Berlin. In 1911, the City Council received Jansen's proposals, and the north-western part of the garden suburb was developed in accordance with his plans. It is clearly evident that the 'garden town' was the product of two different plans. One part, that of G. Kuphaldt, relates closely to the topography and the landscape, the other part, that of H.

Jensen, was worked out abstractly, without acquaintance with the existing situation on site. Jensen divided up the land into a a series of regular linear plots alongside the parallel street system in a very formal way. Although he left some free space for public recreation and widened the streets in a few places, this concept did not work. Unlike in a urban working class district, there was less need for green open spaces on this wooded site (Fig.3).

A total of 108 villas had been completed before the First World War, 25 of which were built in the new area. All the villas were built like small castles or country houses in the natural landscape of the beautiful pine forest. In the south-western part of the district, however, a number of semi-detached two family houses were built for lower class residents with tighter budgets. These dwellings were considerably cheaper than the free-standing single family villas. Every dwelling in the semi-detached houses had an entrance hall, a family room with a verandah, a kitchen and a W.C. on the ground floor and two or four bedrooms and a bathroom on the first floor. These were usually accommodated within the roof space. The designer of most of the cheap detached and semi-detached houses was the architect, G. Tiesenhausen.[11] During 1911, he managed to complete more than twenty buildings along Stockholm Street (Figs. 5 and 6).
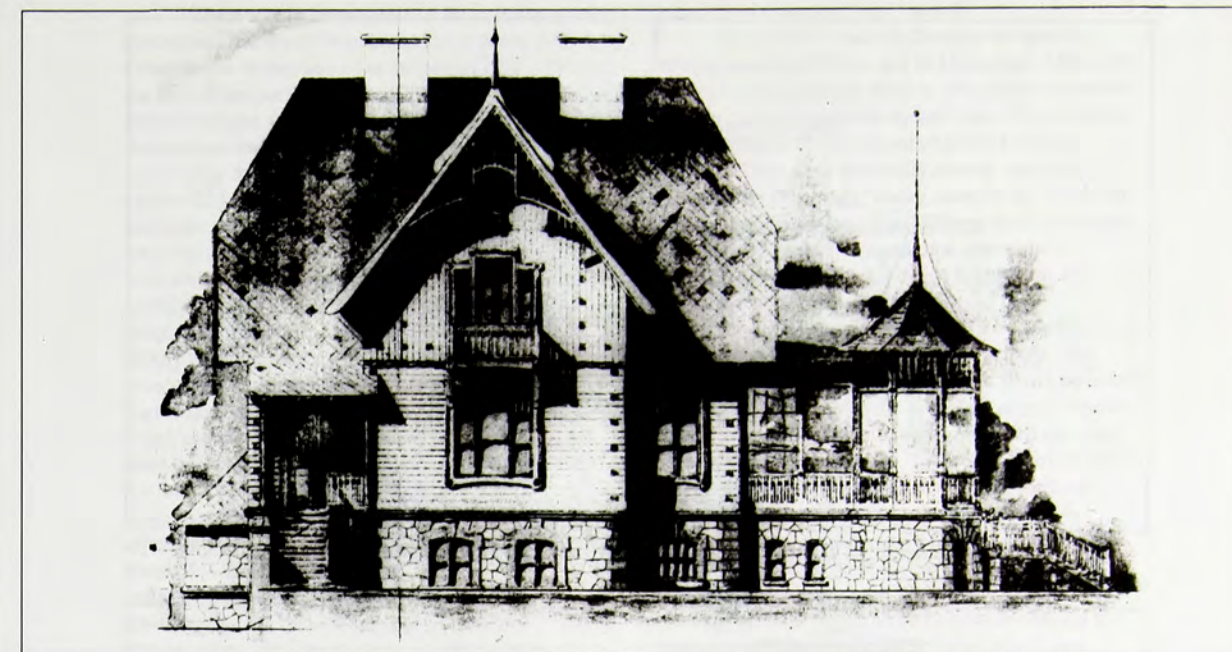

Figure 4. Villa, 22 A. Sakse str. (E. Kuffer, 1904) LCVVA f. 2761, a. 3,1. 12243.
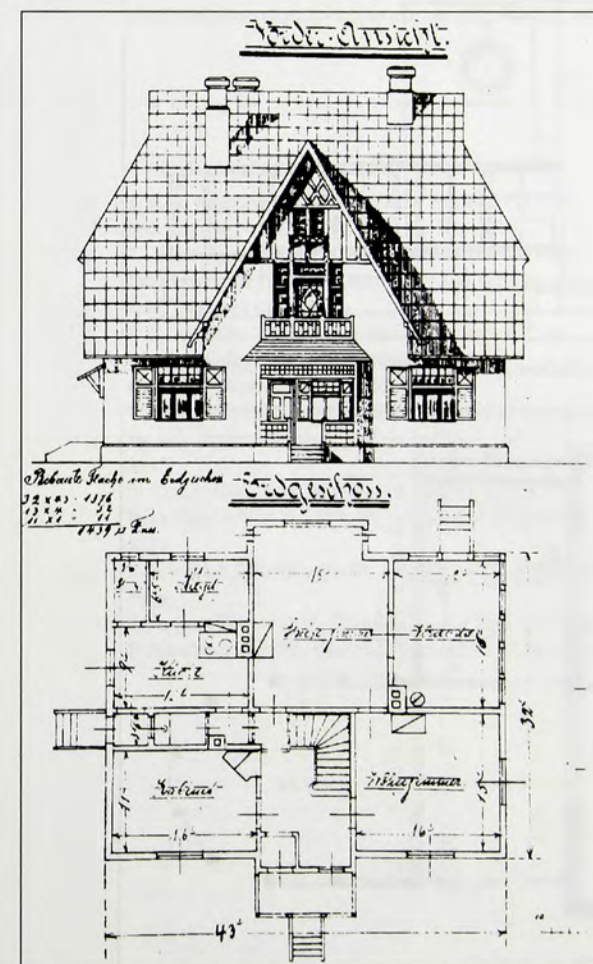

Figure 5. Detached house, 22 Visby str. (G. Tiesenhausen, 1911) LCVVA f. 2761, a. 3,1. 13859.
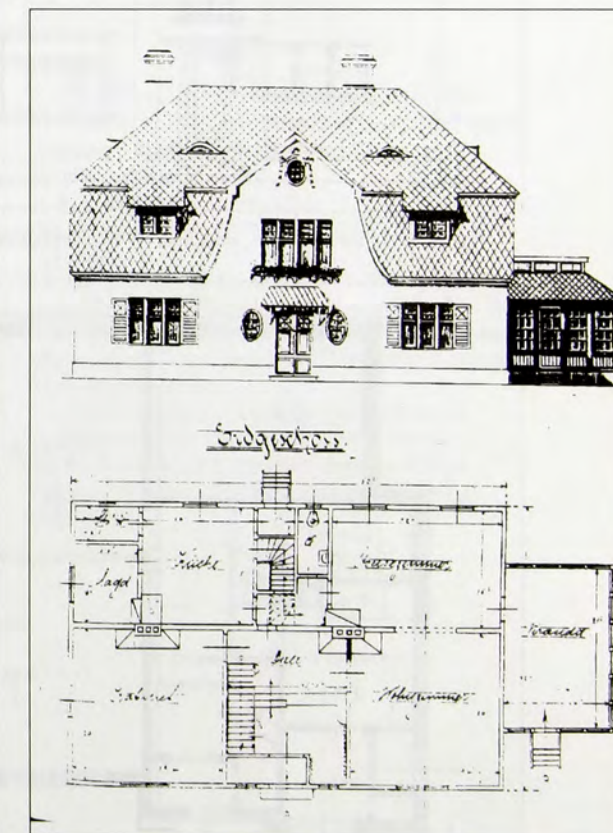

Figure 6. Detached house, 16 Visby str. (G. Tiesenhausen, 1911) LCVVA f. 2761, a. 3,1. 13862.
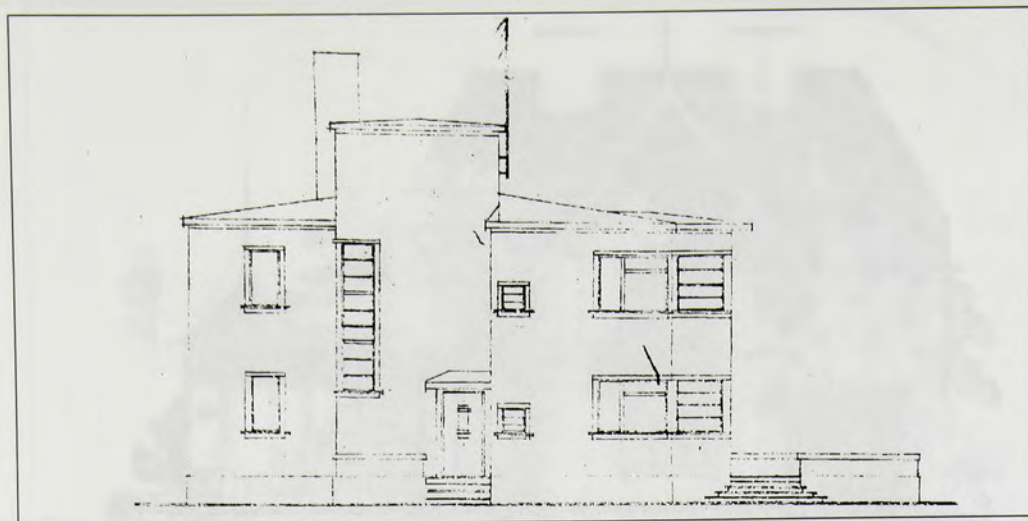
Figure 7. Detached house, 52 Meza prospect (L. Hofman-Grinberg, 1931-35) LCVVA f. 2761, a.3,1. 13997.
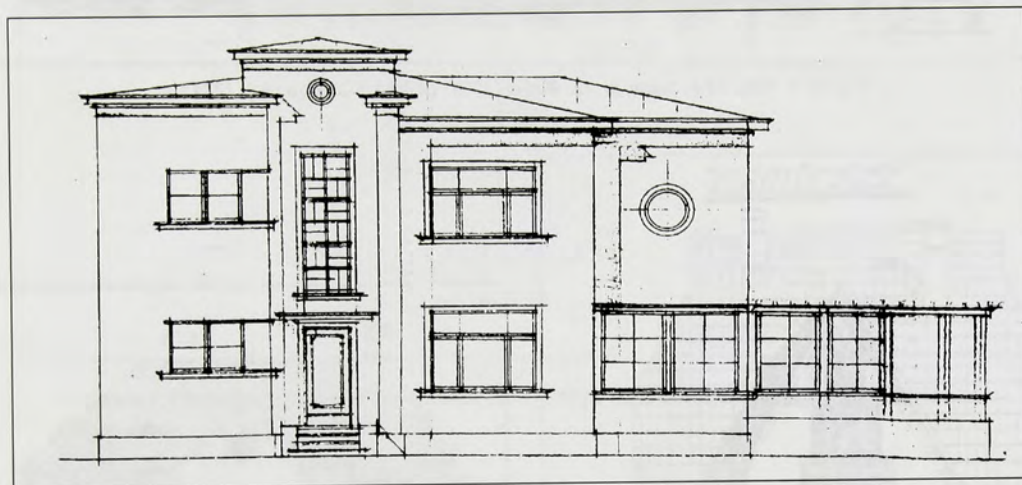
Figure 8a. Detached house, elevation, 60 Meza prospect (A. Kalnins, 1932-36) LCVVA f. 2761, a. 3,1. 13993.
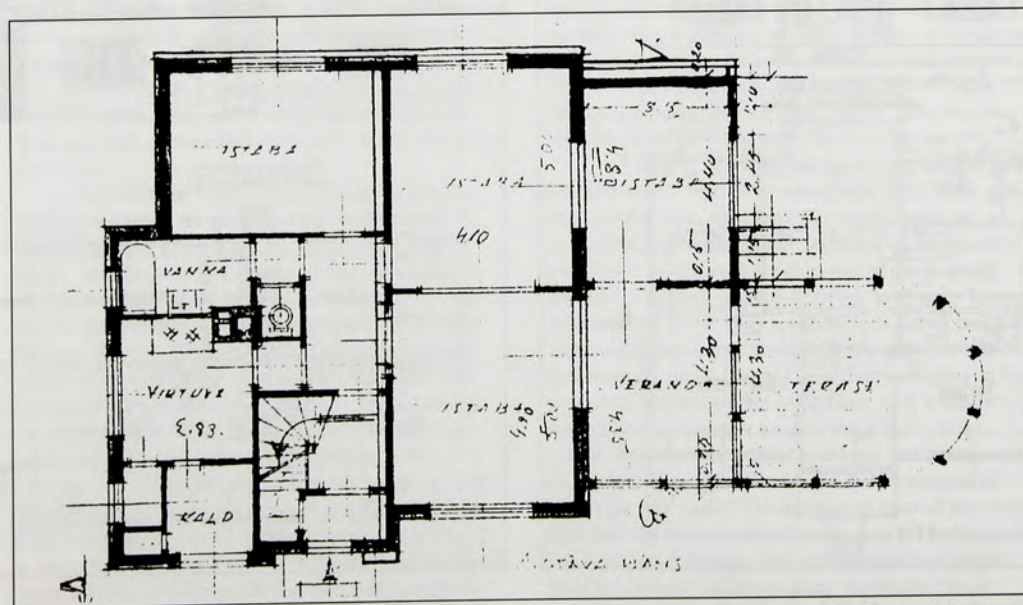
Figure 8b. Detached house, plan, 60 Meza prospect (A. Kalnins, 1932-36) LCVVA f. 2761, a. 3,1. 13993.

There was an interruption in the building process during the First World War and in the post-war period. Construction recommenced in the period 1928-1932, but the style of the buildings changed considerably. Eclecticism and Art Nouveau styles were replaced by Rationalism and Functionalism. The main building site used during this time was that planned by H. Jansen before 1911. After about 1930, Art Moderne became the prevalent style used in the garden suburb, which by that time was called Mezaparks. Eliel Saarinen's projects were well-known among Latvian architects, and his style quickly became the latest architectural fashion to be adopted by many of them. Smoothly plastered and solidly cubic buildings with flat roofs and assymmetrical facades began to appear. Some detached houses had curved corners, others had windows which continued round corners. Large windows, balconies and terraces allowed increased amounts of light and air to enter the the rooms. Small round windows, beloved by Modernists, were also common. Doors, windows and other elements of the buildings were created with great simplicity, durability and careful proportions. Interior walls were mere partitions, allowing greater flexibility in room layout. The villas at Mezaparks had all the modern conveniences. The designs were mainly the work of local architects, such as T. Hermanovsky, N. Hercberg, A. Razums, E. Stalberg and O. Tilmanis.[12] Like their Modernist mentors, they claimed to be working without historicist precedent, trying to exploit the materials and technology of the day (Figs 7 and 8).

World War II and the Russian occupation brought considerable changes in Mezaparks. Most of the owners were deported to Siberia. The villas became the property of the Russian Army and State. The buildings were frequently ill-treated and plundered of their contents. Some were drastically altered, most were neglected for fifty years. Today, most of the houses are in a very bad condition. Many of them need restoration to bring them back to their original appearance. Although the privatisation process is going on, the greater part of the houses still belong to the municipality. The district contains 557 houses now, and there are nearly 6,200 inhabitants living there. The houses are overcrowded, for during the Soviet period the one family villas became the homes of several families. These families lived in one room and shared the same kitchen, W.C. and bathroom. The need to provide these families with other housing is a major problem, and, consequently, the process of privatisation is slow. Meanwhile, other processes are at work. Commercial institutions, with greater resources than private individuals, are taking over these former residential buildings for their needs. Such a situation changes the original residential district into a commercial area, where traffic, noise and air pollution and the extension of dwellings for other puposes destroys the 'garden town' environment as a whole.

NOTES

1. R.A. Krastinich, *Stili Moderni v Arxiekturye Rigi*, Mockba: Stroiizdat, 1988, p.30. (In Russian.)
2. Adolf Agte (1850-1906) graduated from the Riga Polytechnic in 1873. Between 1889 and 1899 he was the chief engineer of Riga.
3. E. Kupffer, 'Die Villenkolonie "Kaiserwald" bei Riga', *Jahrbuch fur bildende Kunst in den Ostseeprovinzen* , 1928, p.126.
4. Georg Kuphaldt (1853-1938) trained as an architect. He was director of parks in Riga between 1879 and 1915.
5. Rudolf Dohnberg (1864-1918) graduated from the Riga Polytechnic in 1893. He designed 80 buildings in Riga.
6. Friedrich Seheffel was the architect of 35 buildings in Riga.
7. August Witte (1876-1969) graduated from the Riga Polytechnic in 1902. He was the author of 15 buildings in Riga.
8. Oskar Bars (1848-1913) graduated from the Riga Polytechnic in 1874 and also studied at the Academy of Building in Berlin. He designed approximately 90 buildings in Riga.
9. R.A. Krastinich, *op. cit.*, p.31.
10. Central State Archive of Latvia (LCVVA) f.2728 a. 2,1. 560.
11. Gerhard von Tiesenhausen (1878-1917) graduated from the Riga Polytechnic in 1907 and also studied in Paris. He worked as an architect mainly in the 'garden town' at Riga, where he designed some 45 detached and semi-detached houses.
12. Ernest Stalberg (1883-1958) was Professor of Architecture at the University of Latvia. Osvald Tilmanis (1900-1980) was chief architect of Riga between 1934 and 1950 and a Professor at the Riga Polytechnic.

THE EVOLUTION OF STRATEGIC PLANNING IN SHANGHAI 1927-1949

ZHANG BING, TONGAI UNIVERSITY, SHANGHAI

It is more than 700 years since Shanghai was designated a *Xian* (county), but the true eye-catching development of Shanghai only began in the 1840s, when Shanghai became a treaty port under the terms of the Nanking Treaty (1840) and the Hunen Treaty (1843). During the last 150 years, history, national and international, has sometimes generously presented the city with, and sometimes mercilessly deprived it of many opportunities to develop rapidly. The city's history has an intrinsic interest, but as urban planners, we are more interested in the evolution of strategic planning in Shanghai: the process by which people worked out a spatial plan and carried it out consciously. That is the reason why the period from 1927 to 1949 will be examined in this paper. In order to give an explanation of the special morphology emerging in the plans, the social and economic background of the planning will be emphasised. Particular emphasis will be given to the 1929 Greater Shanghai Plan (*Da Shanghai Jihua*) and the 1949 City Plan of Greater Shanghai (*Da Shanghai Dushi Jihua*). The differences between the two plans will be explored. Attention will also be paid to the influence of the 1949 plan after that date.

1840s-1920s: The rapid urbanisation of Shanghai

In 1845, after Shanghai became a treaty port, the British consul signed the Land Regulation with the local representative of the Qing Government (*Dao-tai*), according to which the foreign settlement was developed and the segregation of foreign colonial and Chinese residents was stipulated. In reality, the segregation was rendered ineffective by the remarkable influx of Chinese seeking to avoid civil strife in the 1850s and 1860s, such as the *Xiao-dao* Rebellion and the *Tai-ping* Rebellion. It was recorded that the number of refugees in the foreign settlement rose to 500,000 between 1855 and 1865.[1] The sheer increase in population stimulated the development of real estate and the expansion of the settlement.

Moreover, foreign investment in industrial development in Shanghai increased after the Shimonosake Treaty (1895). The number of foreign-owned enterprises amounted to 45 per cent of that in the whole of China. Further to that, the First World War created a suitable opportunity for the rapid development of Chinese industry. By the beginning of the 1920s, Shanghai had replaced Guangzhou as the most important Chinese hub city in terms of foreign trade, harbour facilities, transportation, industry and banking, and had become the dominant financial centre in the whole of the Far East.

In spatial terms, the economic sectors of the city were concentrated in the International Settlement and the French Concession. The distribution was therefore very unbalanced. Under the free market, the physical expansion of the foreign settlement continued with the

foreigners building roads beyond the boundary (*yue-jie zhu-lu*). Equally, in the areas under the Chinese authority, the demolition of the city wall in 1914 illustated that market forces had been changing the Chinese residents' psychological and behavioural patterns. Even though no physical obstacles existed any longer between the foreign settlement and the Chinese area, the long-term and unified planning of spatial development was seriously hampered by the administative separation. Furthermore, the instability of the Chinese political situation aggravated the backwardness of the urban services and facilities in the Chinese area. Whether measured by employment opportunities or living conditions, by economic strength or social security, the foreign settlement, with many privileged treaty rights, was the truly leading urban centre.

1927-1937: Rapid construction and nationalist confrontation

The Nationalist Government established in Nanking in April 1927 made Shanghai a 'Special City' (*Shanghai Tebie Shi*) which was a local authority with administrative and juridical power, and quite different from the local autonomous agencies established before 1927, such as the Engineering Bureau of 1900 (*Gongcheng Zongju*), the Autonomous Agency (*Chengshi Zizhi Gongsuo*) and the Municipal Council of 1911 (*Shizheng Ting*), which were established by the enlightened local Chinese elite to emulate the Shanghai Municipal Council in the foreign settlement. Until July 1928, the local authority of the Special City controlled 17 districts which covered 494.69 square kilometres. It was intended that it would gradually absorb the other 13 districts which covered 365.65 square kilometres. In contrast to the government area, the foreign settlement, including the International Settlement and the French Concession, made up only 32.82 square kilometres. Although 22 out of the 33 treaty settlements in China had returned to the Nationalist Government after the success of the Northern Expedition of 1926-27, the settlement in Shanghai remained intact and continued to dominate financially, commercially and demographically. However, the unification of the sub-societies in the Chinese area lay the foundation for the creation of a spatial development plan. The need for such a plan was becoming apparent.

More and more problems were seriously affecting living and working conditions in the whole city. Because of the long-term lack of adequate management and investment in public utilities in the Chinese area, the environmental quality there was far inferior to that in the foreign settlement. For example, only 25 per cent of the roads in Shanghai were located in the Chinese area.[2] More problems existed in the other systems, such as water supply, sewerage, electricity
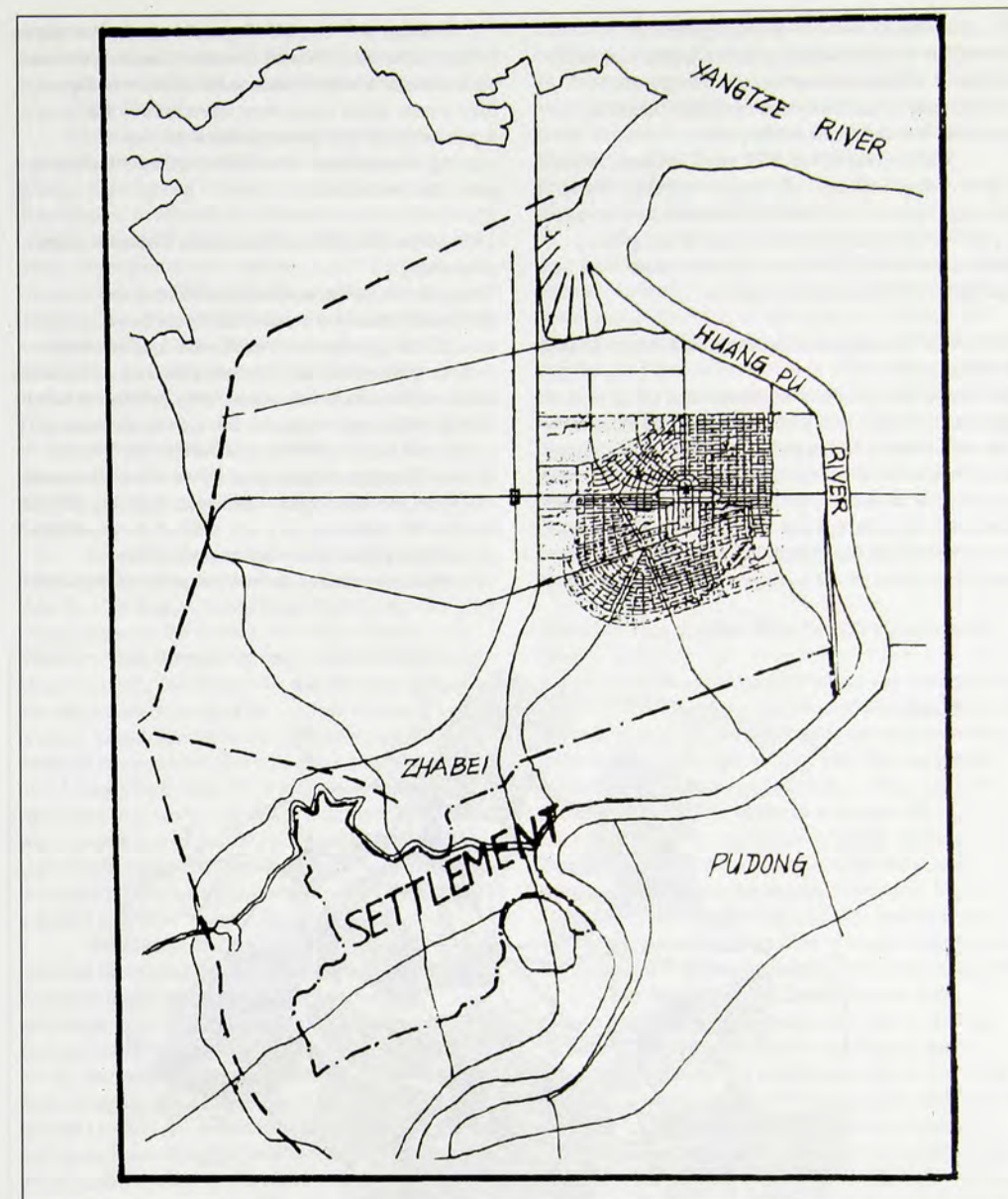
Figure 1. Sketch of the 1929 Great Shanghai Plan, showing the relationship of location and transportation network between the two centres.

supply, public transportation, the telephone system, etc. One consequence was the cholera epidemic in Zhabei, a Chinese district in 1926, due to polluted water.[3] But in the foreign settlement, some similar problems also occurred. Due to the high density of the population, the settlement became overcrowded. Meanwhile the capacity of the harbours along the Huangpu River and the Suzhou Creek had gradually become unable to meet the needs of the domestic and foreign traders. In order to enlarge its capacity, the harbour had to be extended as soon as possible.[4]

Aimed at improving urban functions, the Greater Shanghai Plan was announced in 1929. The outstanding features of the master plan were the brand new city centre north-east of the foreign settlement and a new transportation system (Fig.1). The Qiu-jiang Harbour

was planned at the mouth of the Huangpu River and near the Yangtze River, just north of the new centre. In the hinterland of the harbour, arterial highways and railways were to be formed which would create a network connecting the parts of the Chinese area and maintain a modest relationship with the existing road system in the foreign settlement. In consequence, the Greater Shanghai plan adopted an interesting spatial pattern: that of a twin-centred city.

As one of the starting points of the plan was to lower the population density and better the environment, the twin centre could be explained as an approach to planned dispersal. But the new centre with the adjacent harbour, standing independently and stubbornly at the mouth of the Huangpu River, suggests that relieving population pressure was only a superficial aim, and that

the actual objective was to obstruct the foreign imperialists from encroaching upon Chinese land and, ultimately, to triumph over them politically and economically. Thus confrontation, rather than co-operation, was the theme of the plan.

The ten years from 1927 to 1937 were a rare and relatively busy period for the Bureau of Public Works of Shanghai Special City. During this period they invested in public utilities and buildings, such as museums, libraries and stadia. Unfortunately, their plans were interrupted by the Japanese invasion.

1937-1945: The Japanese invasion and the stagnation of development
This period of eight years was dominated by the Japanese invaders, who themselves drew up a spatial plan with military and exploitative objectives.[5] Before Pearl Harbour in 1941, the Japanese also chose the same sites outside the foreign settlement as those which had been selected in the Greater Shanghai Plan to develop the centre and the harbour. It would seem that the two plans were based on the same premise.

From 1937 to 1941, Japan did not declare war on Britain, America or France. Once the Pacific War broke out and these countries became the enemies of Japan, their former treaty rights were taken over by the Japanese. They then gave priority to the use of the existing infrastructure and utilities in the settlement to serve their war effort.

1946-1949: Towards a milestone in Chinese urban planning
The surrender of the Japanese in 1945 and the settlement's takeover by the Nationalist Government brought the opportunity to work out a long-term and wide-ranging spatial development plan. According to the architect-planners involved in the first (1946), the second (1948) and the third (1949) draft of the City Plan of Greater Shanghai *Da Shanghai Dushi Jihua* illustrated that more and more stress was placed on reality. Maybe because the following civil war reduced the possibility of realising a grand plan and the preliminary investigations were too limited, the planners began to pursue more pragmatic ends. Despite such apparent compromises, many ideas in the 1949 plan were more mature in terms of rationale and comprehensivenes than those of the 1929 plan.

Firstly, the planners restructured Shanghai regionally according to the theories and practice in Britain, America and Germany. They analysed the demographic trends and the urban transportation system using relatively advanced theories. The city region within the administrative territory of 6,538 square kilometres, referred to as the Greater Shanghai Region (*Da Shanghai Quyu*) was divide into 12 districts, which were called City Units (*Shiqu Danwei*) (Fig.2). The former foreign settlement and certain parts of Hu'nan district were designated as the Central Area (*Zhong Qu*). This was to be surrounded by a green belt, echoing that of Abercrombie in the Greater London Plan. The belt was intended to stop the sprawl of the central area and to disperse the surplus population to the districts outside the belt.

Secondly, the city region was configured heirarchically, and composed of five areas of different size: the City Region itself (*Shiqu Benbu*); the City Unit (*Shiqu Danwei*); the Town Unit (*Shizen Danwei*); the Mid-sizes Unit (*Zhongji Danwei*); and the Small Unit (*Xiao Danwei*). The Small Unit was the basic unit which was delineated in terms of the catchment area of a primary school, similar to a neighbourhood unit in America or elsewhere. One Mid-sized Unit was made up of 3-5 Small Units, and 10-12 Mid-sized Units were equivalent to a Town Unit. More than three Town Units, with a population of 160,000 to 180,000, formed a City Unit. Wedges of green land and expressways provided the barriers and connections between the City Units. It is a typical pattern of 'organic dispersal'.

Thirdly, the theoretical basis of the plan reflected the current doctrines of Anglo-American and European mainland planners.[6] The outstanding influences were from the garden city of Ebenezer Howard (1898), the regionalism of Lewis Mumford (1938), the organic dispersal of Eliel Saarinen (1943), the investigating-analysing- planning mode of Patrick Geddes (1920s), the functional zoning of CIAM (1933), and so on.These thoughts were revised and applied in a milieu that was quite distinct from western countries.

In contrast to other Chinese cities where urban planning had been done, the City Plan of Greater Shanghai was unique in its comprehensive theoretical basis and carefully worked ideas, its progressively devloped schemes and radically reformist assertions. For these reasons, it can be described as a milestone in Chinese planning history, the point at which contemporary planning theories were introduced into China, absorbed, revised and later disseminated. The reasons for this conclusion are based not only on the above factors, but also because of the shadow that the City Plan of Greater Shanghai cast upon the planning system of China from 1950.

The City Plan of Greater Shanghai was divided into two phases: the master plan and the detailed plan. After the master plan decided the outlines of the spatial morphology and the related guidelines, a detailed plan of a district, like the Zhabei district, could be drawn up according to the guidelines as a rehearsal. After the Liberation (1949), in the late 1950s, the department which was equivalent to the present Construction Ministry made it clear that Chinese planning work consisted of master planning and detailed planning. This reflected the practice in the USSR, so scholars engaged in Chinese urban history have argued that the framework was borrowed from the Soviet Union. I disagree with them, because it can be argued that the planning of Greater Shanghai from 1946 to 1949 laid the the foundation of knowledge and action for the system of China's urban planning afterwards.

The planning of Greater Shanghai lasted less than four years and ended in May 1949 just before the People's Liberation Army defeated the Kuomingtang Army and took control of Shanghai on 27 May 1949. The last Nationalist deputy mayor, Zhao, a famous engineer engaged in the planning of the city, transferred the plan to the first Communist mayor, Chen Yi. With the radical change of ideology and power base, the plan did not wholly become a waste piece of paper. The city's problems did not disappear. In the socialist society, the City Plan of Greater Shanghai, at least, provided one model for the modernisation of the city in the light of up-to-date urban planning conceptions and techniques.

The 1929 Plan and the 1949 Plan: A comparative study
A sufficiency of administrative power and territory is the common and imperative condition of planning. With the promulgation of the two administrative decrees in May 1929, the Shanghai Special City was bestowed with administrative power and jurisdiction. Very soon, the authority obtained the power to supervise the administration in the settlement[7] through drawing support from from the nationalistic industrial and commercial leaders and residents in the city.[8] Up to 1945, when the Shanghai Special City took over the settlement, territorial integration provided the impetus for the authority to draw up a plan for a splendid future.

The development of Shanghai was in the nationalists' interest. Whether in 1927 or in 1945 the Nationalist central government tried hard to control Shanghai for it occupied a decisive position in respect of banking, industry, commerce, foreign trade and harbour facilities in China, and in the Far East as a whole. To strengthen their administrative control over industry and commerce and to raise public revenue through taxes on them was a key nationalist aim. To imbue the local population of Shanghai with their political philosophy was thus a means to an end.

As a key centre of sino-foreign exchange, Shanghai was also important to the Nationalists in another way. Bergere has argued that Chiang Kai-shek's China counted on the characteristics of such abnormally developing metropolises, with their bourgeois characteristics, to persuade and win over the democratic countries in Europe and America.[9]

The 1929 Plan and the 1949 Plan were conceived as the manifestation of Shanghai's place and role as a manifestation of national dignity and foreign exchange. The 1929 Plan had the aid of western classical composition, such as the circle and the radiating boulevards, as well as traditional Chinese buildings. To present national dignity, might and sovereignty, such combinations of western and eastern forms in architecture and planning were not unusual. They reflected some common thoughts in Chinese society at the time, even though they were seen as contraversial by others.
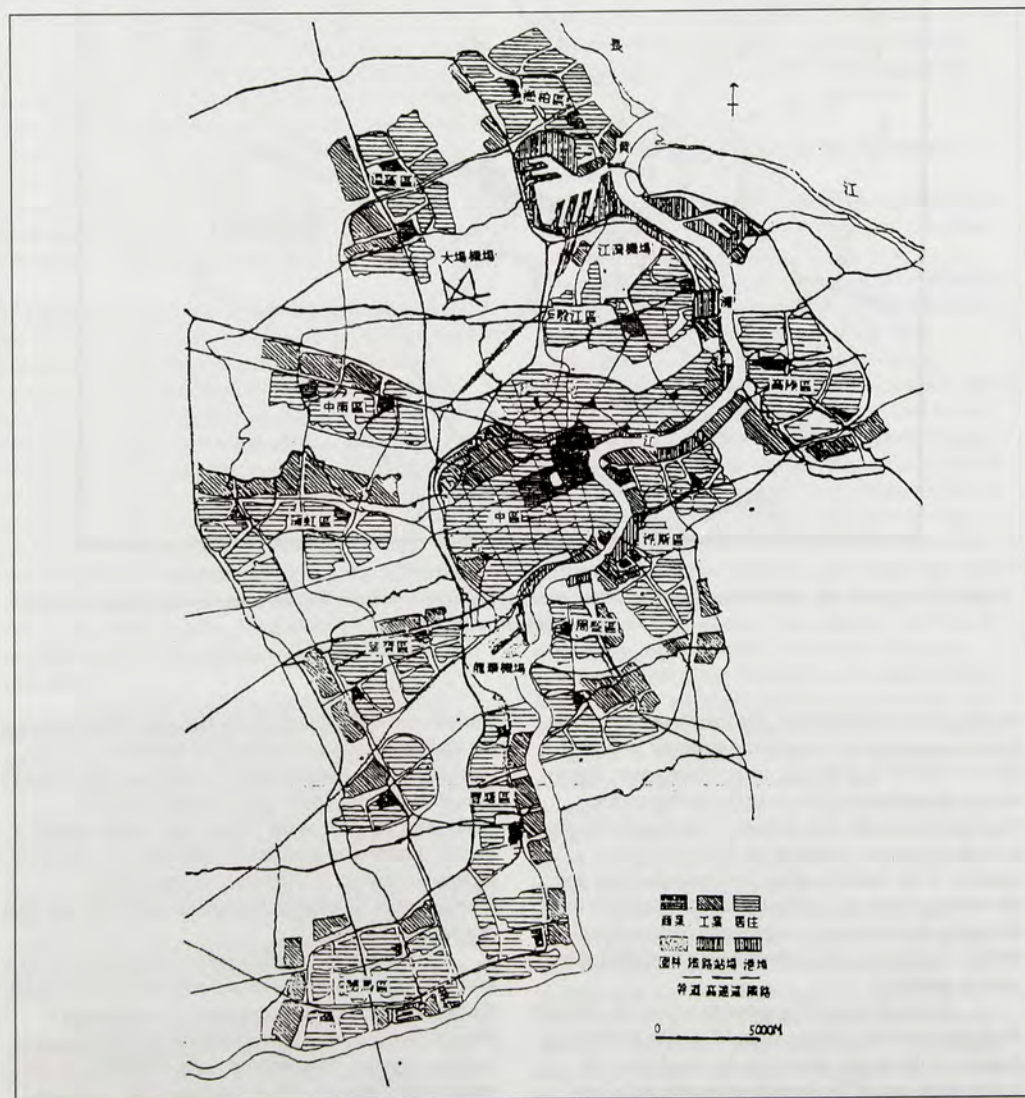

Figure 2. The Master Plan of the 1949 City Planning of Great Shanghai (third draft).

There were ambiguities in the 1929 Plan. Although the harbour was a central element in the plan, the economic goals and policies were quite vague. the authority wanted to build up a new Chinese centre, there was no clear solution put forward to encourage these centripetal forces that would residents into the centre to live and work. It would seem that economic factors were less important than ideological factors.

Compared with the 1929 Plan, the political and ideological colour of the 1949 Plan was light. The former nationalist belief that Shanghai would hold sway over the Far East (and even the world) was not manifested directly in form and space. The planners produced an embryonic form of modern planning in Shanghai, with western democratic ideas instead of the bureaucratic tradition. The City Plan of Greater Shanghai (1949) represents a great step forward in Chinese urban planning.

Why, under the same Nationalist government were the two plans so different? It was a period of social, economic and political fluctuation. The ideological backgrounds of the two plans were completely different from each other. The conditions of technical preparation in the two phases were also distinct. In the 1940s, many more students studied abroad. They brought back the modern conceptions of urban planning, and encouraged their absorption in China.

Conclusions
The years from 1927 to 1949 witnessed theoretical and practical progress in China's urban planning.The tree of modern western planning theories was transplanted into Chinese soil. A wealth of experience of planning practice had been accumulated in this period, and that experience was still valid after 1949. In the socialist society, the City Plan of Greater Shanghai at least provided one pattern for Shanghai's urban modernisation in the light of up-to-date planning conceptions and techniques.

Although the Greater Shanghai Plan and the City Plan of Greater Shanghai were both drawn up in circumstances of internal and external turbulence and could not be carried out as expected, they brought to the fore many features of urban planning which can still be fruitfully studied by later planners, whether in decision-making authorities or academic agencies.

NOTES

My sincere gratitude goes to my supervisor, Professor Li De-hua, who gave me a great deal of concrete help and instruction during the research. I would also like to particularly thank Mr. Derek Gowling MRTPI for his patient and generous help.

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BRITISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND HOUSE BUILDING DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

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Local Government already had functions to fulfil as a result of the pre-war Housing Acts, but the war itself affected the operation of these and, in turn, brought on new requirements during the conflict, as well as raising questions of post-war development. Therefore, the relationship between centre and localities on the eve of war, during the conflict itself and in planning for the future need to be looked at to see if any change is discernible and to judge the success or failure of the local authorities in the playing-out of their role. Whether local government was responding to, or initiating, housing development and the extent to which perceptions and reality were being altered by the impact of war are important issues.

Housing had developed as an area of some importance during the inter-war years, starting with the cry of 'Homes for Heroes' at the end of World War One. It was a subject which aroused much popular concern and interest, with its attendant electoral implications both nationally and locally. One of the key issues revolved around questions of who was to build the houses, along with the extent, if any, of public subsidy, and the question of slum clearance. The Housing and Town Planning Act of 1919 had required authorities to survey housing needs and to build council housed and offered government subsidies to cover the cost, but recession brought the end of the subsidies in 1922.[1] This did not mean, however, the ending of the principles of local-central government partnership, involving subsidies upon which it was based: 'These same principles were to remain the backbone of fresh legislation when the Chamberlain Housing Act of 1923 and the Wheatley Housing Act of 1924 were formulated.'[2]

Under the Chamberlain Act, local authorities could only use subsidies if they could convince the Minister of Health that they could build houses better than private enterprise, and in the six years of the Act's life 363,000 houses were privately constructed and only 78,000 by Councils.[3] The Labour Government of 1924, however, offered a new round of subsidies specifically aimed at local authorities to encourage them to build houses with controlled rents. These were to be further subsidised out of the rates. By the time of its demise in 1933, the Wheatley Act had resulted in around 520,000 new houses, mainly council built.[4] In 1930 the Greenwood Act gave subsidies for slum clearance, while the Housing Acts of 1935 and 1936 laid down standards of room densities in households and, in the case of the latter, obliged councils to give preference to people in overcrowded dwellings. By 1938 the contribution which local authorities were required to make from the rates in respect of flats and cottages for slum clearance and the relief of overcrowding was expected be half the Exchequer contribution.[5]

By 1939 there were twelve and a half million houses in Britain, and 1.3 million of these were Council dwellings, making up approximately 11% of the total housing stock.[6] The inter-war years had seen a marked preponderance of private as opposed to public house building, but the contribution of the latter was not insignificant, particularly after 1931, when the Conservative dominated National Government laid stress on council building to replace slum housing and ease overcrowding. Local authority concentration in this field led to them building 400,000 houses for this purpose between 1935 and 1939. Between 1919 and 1939 the total government contribution to housing, through subsidies, was £212,000,000.[7]

Between the wars, the Conservatives generally preferred private, owner-occupied and rented properties, and were naturally encouraged to do so by speculative builders. Nevertheless, by 1935 housing was taking up 10% of the current expenditure and over a third of the capital expenditure of the local authorities in England and Wales,[8] making it a significant factor on the local political agenda. Even with this outlay it could still prove difficult for many housing authorities to find sufficient land within their own boundaries and many local authorities failed to carry out their full programmes.[9] The local authorities were often reticent in their commitments and reluctant to indulge in wide-ranging programmes because of the political consequences of unacceptably high rate rises. The pressures not to spend excessively were, therefore, strong and the straight-jacket of government finance left the authorities to some extent confined in their activities.

There was already, therefore, a history of central and local government involvement in housing matters by 1939. This has led to the view that "the extent of local authority provision came to be largely determined by the level of central government subsidy available."[10] It has been claimed that central government manipulated the subsidy system to get its way.[11] Certainly the Housing Act of 1938 reduced the subsidy to local authorities for housing and, despite the Local Government Act of 1933 giving them powers to borrow for up to 80 years for housing projects, the need for ministerial sanction for loans remained and Whitehall could hold an inquiry into any loan application that was unusual or controversial.[12] Despite this, mere passivity by local authorities was not the order of the day. They still had powers to initiate, plan and execute schemes such as slum clearance[13] within government obligations and guidelines, and many did so.

House construction began to slow up rapidly once the war began. In September 1939 the Ministry of Health sent a circular to all local authorities saying the

Minister would not be prepared for the time being to approve of the erection of further houses, barring exceptional circumstances. Local authorities were hit immediately by the drain away of subsidies and by 1940 private builders were being affected by resource difficulties. It has been estimated that without the war the total number of houses that could have been built in the country between 1939 and 1945 would have been around 1.75 million, a figure which would have been in excess of the approximately 1.46 million homes required at the war's end. If any new houses were to be built during the war years, they had to be justified on grounds of war-related needs and, as these issues were so bound up with the Ministry of Works, it became something of an embryonic Ministry of Housing in its own right for war purposes, through placing orders and issuing licences to build where it was felt necessary.[14]

The government defended continued subsidies to local authorities but not private builders on the grounds that the former were better in some fields of operation.[15] One of these fields was that of agricultural cottages. Their deterioration was such that in 1943 the government allowed, in what the Ministry of Agriculture deemed were the areas of greatest need, the building of 3,000 new cottages for agricultural workers. These were to be built by Rural District Councils despite rising costs, up 105% by July 1943 over pre-war levels, and with a 25% rise between March and July 1943 alone. Considering that the total loans to local government for capital expenditure had fallen from £129,779,111 in 1938-39 to £5,074,986 in 1942-43, less than 6% of the pre-war figure,[16] it is possible to see why local authority house building was largely at a standstill, yet it still reveals the significance of these cottages in terms of the wartime housing scene. Although continuing the pre-war view that councils were best dealing with specific needs for which individuals themselves could not cater through the private enterprise system, the R.D.C.s protested over what they saw as over-centralisation of the building industry in the Ministry of Works.[17]

Unfortunately, the war also brought a halt to slum clearance, with government urging postponement of slum clearance operations from the start of the war,[18] so that by 1943 300,000 families in Britain were in houses which, but for the war, would have been condemned as slums.[19] Although in late 1943 the Ministry of Health agreed to extend the requisitioning powers of councils, this was only for families they felt were inadequately housed.[20] This was more a gesture than a plan, for in Preston, where just prior to the war there were 600 applications from people living in overcrowded conditions, there were only seven suitable properties.[21] Similarly, in Chorley there were only five unoccupied houses, which as the Council itself said, was not a major contribution to the relief of existing housing conditions in the Borough.[22] Despite this, it had been a local authority conference on housing difficulties in June 1943, set up at the Ministry's request, which led to a report going to the government and the latter agreeing to delegate even these additional requisitioning powers,[23] whereas previously only requisition for evacuated and bombed-out families, along with transferred war workers, had been possible.

Having said this, in order to proceed with requisitioning, the prior consent of the Senior Regional Officer of the Ministry of Health was required, and estimates of the expenditure involved had to be prepared

for the Ministry of Labour and Ministry of Works to evaluate.[24] Prior to war's outbreak in 1939, the major part of the work of inspection and responsibility for the classification of houses for slum clearance procedures was placed upon sanitary officers, and the problem was tackled in a practical manner.[25] The war meant that the problem of balancing practical solutions with expensive costings remained unresolved. Though, in late 1944, the Minister of Health was emphasising to Parliament how local authorities had by statute to give a reasonable preference to the letting of houses to persons in insanitary or overcrowded houses, having large families or living under unsatisfactory housing conditions,[26] the definition of what was reasonable ended up by being, in effect, what was affordable and obtainable.

With the restrictions on house construction during the war, it followed that the most significant long-term housing concern was the planning, preparation and implementation of post-war schemes of development. This was a national concern, and a growing one from 1942 onwards, as an end to the war could at last be envisaged. With a growing population, which had risen by a million at war's end, along with the rising expectations of civilians and those in the armed forces, fuelled by documents such as the Beveridge Report and a plethora of books and films, like *When We Build Again,* housing naturally came more the centre of the stage (Figs. 1 and 2). The crucial issue here is to see what role was envisaged for the local authorities.

In March 1942, the Ministry of Health's Central Housing Advisory Committee (CHAC) met for the first time since the outbreak of war. Established by the Housing Act of 1935, it advised the Minister on general housing matters and specifically the issue of overcrowding. Its members were appointed for their personal abilities in the housing field and were usually expected to serve for three years. Prior to the war it met three times a year and its reports were sent to the local authorities. It now began considering the problems of post-war reconstruction, setting up sub-committees to look into issues such as the design, planning, layout and standard of construction and equipment of dwellings for people throughout the country. One such committee was the Dudley Committee set up in 1942, and which reported in 1944.

At its first war-time meeting, CHAC was presented with a Ministry of Health paper stating,"If 300,000 - 400,000 new homes are to be built, the Ministry of Health would propose to lay plans on the assumption that of the total some 100,000 will be built by local authorities and the remainder by private enterprise."[27] This fitted the pre-war pattern and left the local authorities as a secondary provider. However, by the autumn of 1942, Ministry of Health Senior Regional Architects and staffs were discussing proposals with local authorities,[28] and it was being seen as essential that the local authorities should be in a position to make an early start on house building, particularly where they could do so in straightforward cases where questions of planning did not arise. In November 1942 the Ministry announced the setting up of the Burt Committee to look into methods of house building after the war. Its emphasis was on efficiency, economy and speed.[29] By January it was felt necessary to consider allowing local authorities to proceed with compulsory purchasing of sites for a one year's programme, where they did not already own them, and that the ban on fresh borrowing

Figure 1. Back to back housing in Birmingham in the inter-war years. (Photograph reproduced with the kind permission of the Focus Housing Association from When we build again, *Bournville Village Trust Research Publication, London, 1941, plate 1.)*

by local authorities should be lifted.[30]

This left the local authorities' role in the long-term housing scenario uncertain at a national level, partly due to the changing structure of central government. In 1942 the planning functions of the Ministry of Health were transferred to the Ministry of Works and Planning and, following its establishment in February 1943, to the Ministry of Town and Country Planning. This Ministry acquired wide-ranging powers over planning, including liaising with local authorities, drawing up a national planning policy and preparing legislation to assist the control of development. In March 1943 all local authorities in England and Wales were asked to prepare a first-year peace-time programme of house building. This was generally based on the output of pre-war years, and assumed that construction by private enterprise would continue to play an important part in the programme.[31] A number of MPs soon began questioning how local authorities could plan one-year schemes without relevant information on likely new industrial development.[32] Indeed, the splitting of functions regarding housing and planning led one MP to talk of a war between the Ministries of Health and Town and Country Planning, though the Minister of Health denied this.[33]

What could not be denied was the general government commitment to private housing in principle, though the Minister spoke of the local authority role in replacing slums and abatement of overcrowding, along with 'meeting general needs for homes for the working class in so far as they were not met by private

enterprise.'[34] It was not until June 1943 that the Minister said local authorities could assume there would be government subsidy for buildings,[35] and in July the amount could still not be announced.[36] Overall, the government was moving decisively to use local authorities to provide certain essential housing needs not met elsewhere and use their organisational base as a conduit for strategic planning. At the same time, resources and financial constraints still limited options. As one MP said, "We want staff, we want money, we want power. What we get out of the Ministry of Health is talk and circulars and no end of sympathy, and it is not good enough."[37]

The Ministry's desire to be circumspect collided with the enthusiasm of many local councils to plan major building schemes. There were frequent delays while Regional Planning officers adjudicated on local authority proposals.[38] The damping down of expectation by central government was tinged with a 'sweetener', in that the scope for temporary house construction was increased. The Housing (Temporary Accomodation) Act of October 1944 made the local authorities responsible for providing sites and necessary services, along with the site costs, while the Ministry of Works provided or paid the cost of a sub-structure for the temporary home and sorted out the erection of the property. Then the local authorities let and managed the homes, paying to the Ministry £23 10s. 0d for each temporary house. This Act allowed a form of trade-off between centre and localities when it came to discussing general housing requirements, with the temporary houses at times

Figure 2. A large municipal estate of the type built in the inter-war years. (Photograph reproduced with the kind permission of the Focus Housing Association from When we build again, *Bournville Village Trust Research Publication, London, 1941, plate 12.)*

seeming like a palliative to please the councils.

Churchill's interest in post-war housing only really began to show through early in 1944 when he minuted Lord Portal, Minister of Works and Buildings, on the need to have more prefabricated houses built for display in as many places as possible for all to see.[39] Yet by September he was complaining about the waste of time involved in exhibiting and the lack of progress due to constant criticisms of what was on show. Churchill felt that having houses ready for returning soldiers was more important than whether it was the best that could be built or not, and insisted on an acceleration of prefabricated houses under a Committee, led by Lord Beaverbrook.[40]

In a speech to the House of Commons in November 1944, Churchill referred to housing as the most threatened sector on the Home Front.[41] It was the Prime Minister's determination to house returning members of the armed forces which remained paramount in his thinking, and the role of the local authorities was seen as being necessary "o meet this need.

In a revealing minute of March 1945, he stated, 'We must clear up the position of the local authorities. The strength of the national hand must be more predominant while the emergency lasts".[42] Though this strengthened the government's hand, it also allowed local authorities to plead for more temporary houses to meet their own post-war needs, including of course, returning military personnel.

The Minister of Health, Wellink, did say in December 1944 that he expected the majority of

building during the first two post-war years to be done by local authorities using a range of contractors from large to small. He was more vague about the longer term, saying,

"I feel that at quite an early date our short term programme will merge into the long-term programme to meet the needs for 3 million to 4 million houses in ten to twelve years — a programme to be carried out at a rate something between 50% and 100% higher than the rate at which we were building before the war."[43] Whether a co-ordinating Minister of Health would have been helpful is uncertain; it was certainly rejected by Churchill on two occasions, in September 1944 and June 1945.

Once Germany was defeated in May 1945, the coalition government soon ended and, by June, the election campaign was in full swing. A sample of the electorate revealed housing to be the most important issue, with 41% placing it at the top of the agenda.[44] Labour even promised, in their election manifesto, a Ministry of Housing and Planning to combine the housing powers of the Ministry of Health with the planning powers of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning.[45] The bulk of Labour's thinking on housing emphasised the role of the local authorities. Labour praised them for their building standards, and expressed shame at the lack of proper encouragement to them from pre-war governments and concern at the emphasis still shown by many in the Conservative Party for private enterprise.[46] Many in the Labour Party felt the Ministry plan for 100,000 houses in the first year of peace, and 200,000 in the second, was inadequate in view of the

need for five million houses.[47] At one point, Labour was even proposing the building of four million houses over ten years,[48] which at 400,000 a year was well in excess of any previous figures.

Churchill was also seeking to encourage house-building by whatever means. With the General Election of 1945 only two days away, he drew up a government programme for July in which housing figured prominently. He spoke of special mobile housing units and treated the matter with all the energy of a war-time battle. In terms of permanent construction, he was seeking an early start by private enterprise but also by local authorities, with measures of proper control over building to ensure that available labour was concentrated on high priority work.[49]

The government even congratulated itself on the overall housing position in June 1945. Willink, the Minister of Health, said the housing authorities already had land for 276,000 houses, which was easily enough to cater for the present programme and enough to keep the local authorities busy for two years. He continued with a range of figures, including local authority plans to provide long-term another 300,000 permanent houses. He also claimed that sites for 35,000 permanent local authority houses were already fully developed and that 119,000 temporary houses had been allocated to the local authorities. The Conservatives, therefore, were clearly assuming that local government would build houses in large numbers.

The Conservative commitment to housing was not enough to prevent a landslide Labour victory in the summer of 1945, followed by sweeping local election victories in November. The new Minister of Health, Bevan, said, "The main contribution towards meeting the housing needs is expected from permanent traditional homes built by local authorities, with no subsidy to be provided for erection of houses by private enterprise."[50] Loans sanctioned to local authorities for 1945-46 totalled £42,941,965, an increase of over £35 million compared with 1944-45, and housing was the main beneficiary.[51]

Both major political parties had accepted the pre-war role of the local authorities, had sustained the councils' place in housing affairs during the conflict, and were prepared to develop it afterwards. The Labour Party philosophy was more conducive to the council house ethos but by the end of the war the Conservatives, on pragmatic grounds, were just as prepared to see a role for public subsidy to local authorities to provide houses in the short-term to meet specific needs in post-war society. The Labour application of its housing policy after 1945 was therefore not markedly different from that of the latter years of the war-time coalition government or its short-lived Conservative-dominated successor.

Local authorities did what they could to meet the range of specific housing needs which were earmarked for attention before the war, and did what they could to maintain this role during the circumscribed conditions of the war years. Their success meant the central government's judgement of post-war need brought the 'victory' of public over private housing as the vehicle to deliver what was required. Before the war, dealing with overcrowding, slums and the need for cheap rented housing had been for the most part a case of 'filling the gaps' in housing need. The post-war scenario was one of the 'bigger gaps to fill' and the type of housing required, the resources that could be provided and the organisational structure that existed militated in the councils' favour.

The collectivist notions arguably engendered by war-time commitment to a common cause and building a better future affected Conservative councils as much as Labour, particularly when it became clear that the councils were to be the apparatus for post-war construction. The natural desire of councils, irrespective of their political colour, to obtain the best possible housing deal for their ratepayers led to a jostling for resources and an acceptance of a role they were, after all, obliged to play. The hoped-for dreams of many councils fell before the realities of financial stringency and they were forced to modify their expectations.

Therefore, though there was a broadening of emphasis on council houses at the national level under Labour, it was circumscribed by the financial situation, with control in this sphere exercised under the Local Authorities Loans Act of August 1945. The local authorities could not control the flow of resources but they could compete for the spoils. A tribute to the local authorities' effectiveness is the seemingly widespread assumption that they were the natural public agency for house building. This showed that the war had not changed their reputation as reliable agents. Indeed, they assumed a dominant position in a limited housing market.

Though essentially agents, the local authorities were not mere puppets or pawns of the central will, for there remained some flexibility in planning and initiating their own schemes. Central government may have manipulated the subsidy system to achieve its goals of perceived 'efficiency' but local authorities retained control over its distribution within the community.

The partnership between central and local government in housing matters present before the war had not been broken during it. Local authority efficiency in coping with the extra stresses and opportunities of war left them as the vehicle for delivering post-war housing requirements and needs, just as they had those of pre-war, when called upon to do so. In that process the element of continuity remained intact.

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CONSERVATION IN KIMBERLEY, SOUTH AFRICA: DILEMMAS OF DEVELOPMENT

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In the early nineteenth century, the way of life in the Northern Cape was directly affected by the climate of scorching summers and freezing winters. Irregular rainfall meant that the cultivation of crops was difficult and the local inhabitants, such as the Khoi and Sotho-Tswana depended on hunting to sustain themselves. Meanwhile, the Trekboers (migrant farmers) were slowly moving up from the south to take advantage of extensive natural pasture in the good seasons.

On this peaceful, shimmering Steppe of stony koppies, sun-bleached grass and umbrella trees, the 'Eureka' diamond was discovered on the De Kalk farm at Hopetown, and prospecting began along the Orange River. Alluvial diamonds were, however, soon found along the banks of the Vaal and by 1870 the Vaal River diggings had several thousand inhabitants.

In 1871, a servant of Fleetwood Rawsthorne and his 'Red Cap Party' discovered some valuable diamonds on Colesberg Koppie, twenty miles to the south, and the de Beers New Rush was on. Soon, the area was a frantically busy mining community, as hopefuls arrived from all parts of the world. The koppie soon disappeared under 1,600 separate mining claims, which were sub-divided. Cables and pulleys soon criss-crossed the working area in a gigantic spider's web.[1]

Roadways, which had been laid out, were gradually eroded by the miners and most collapsed by the end of 1872. There were primitive and dangerous conditions in housing, where people graduated from the canvas age of tents to rough homes of corrugated iron (Fig. 1).

The name 'New Rush' was, however, considered undignified and, in 1873, the thriving community was re-named Kimberley, in honour of the Colonial Secretary. In 1878, Anthony Trollope was highly disapproving of the diggers' single-minded pursuit of wealth. "Ladies and children turn dirt," he commented, "instead of making pretty needlework or wholesome mud pies".[2]

The discovery of diamonds stirred up unpleasant boundary disputes and several parties laid claim to the area, for example the Cape Province, President Brand of the Free State and President Pretorius of the Transvaal. In the Keate award, the Griqua chief, Waterboer, received the whole area, whereupon the British governor at the Cape annexed the territory to protect him![3]

Since many reasoned that the mines would be worked out after a few years, the erection of substantial dwellings was deemed to be out of the question. In 1892, Randolph Churchill likened the temporary town to a "cluster of swaming bees settling down", believing that
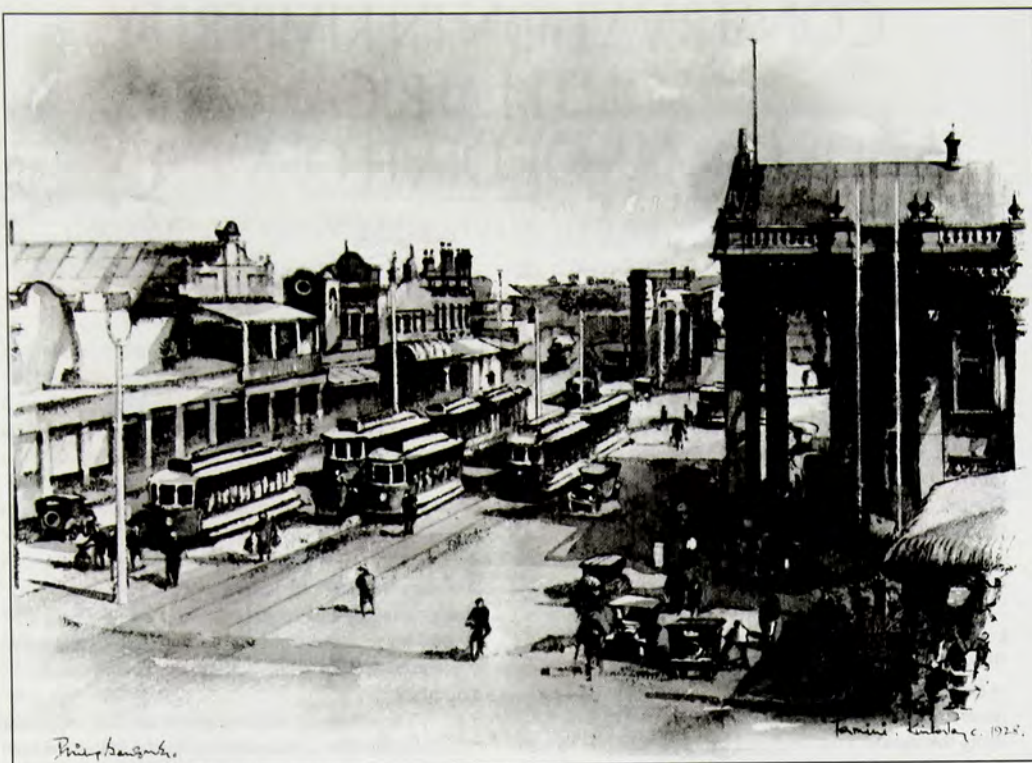

Figure 1. Tent town, 1873.

Figure 2. Trams and town hall, 1928 (Bawcombe).

Figure 3. Core area: network and major magnets.

the people would soon swarm off again![4] Trollope had described the town as "built of corrugated iron...probably the most hideous [material] that has yet come to man's hands, but it is the most portable and the cheapest".[5]

The colonials came to Kimberley from Britain, Canada and Australia with most of the knowledge and expertise necessary to make a success of mining and, into the bargain, they brought common cultural and social values. On the other hand, the Diamond Fields was in the centre of a wilderness where Trekboers led a rural existence, without knowledge of the English language or industry, and with little influence in society. Since some of the big Kimberley mines were situated on these people's farms, Allen felt that they should have shared some of the riches. Their farms were, however, sold to the mining companies for minimal sums; e.g. Bulfontein for £2,000, Du Toitspan for £2,600 and Vooruitzicht for £6,000.[6]

Civic Development

For several reasons, the year 1882 is considered a landmark in Kimberley's civic development. Some 3000 temporary shacks of wood and iron presented a dangerous fire hazard and annual blazes led to the creation of a proper fire brigade. Then a regular water supply was ensured with the completion of a pipeline from the Vaal river and a modest start was made with electric lighting. An extremely important event was the coming of the railway from the Cape in 1885, which spurred development to the east of the town and speeded up the flow of goods and people inland.

The diamond industry was always a gamble, since the value of stones depended on their scarcity, and over-production by a number of competing mines could threaten the market. By 1887, Cecil Rhodes and his de Beers Company had already emerged with monopoly control, but the so-called Amalgamation period of the mines coincided with a nationwide depression, loss of jobs and low morale. Also, the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand caused an exodus of the labour force, but Kimberley was on the map again when the International Exhibition of 1892 was attended by some 400,000 visitors.

By 1890, Kimberley had become a 'company town', with its local institutions almost as much under the control of de Beers as the mining of diamonds. In gracefully assuming the role of provincial capital, it achieved a high standard of cultural and social life for a frontier town, and the built environment is part of this legacy.[7]

After a devastating fire in 1898, it was decided to build a new Town Hall in a worthy location, namely Market Square. The local press asked for a substantial building, like those found in an English provincial town. A nation-wide competition was won by Carstairs-Rogers with a classical building in the Corinthian style. (This building was restored in 1976.) A fine painting by Bawcombe reminds one of the twenties, when the trams made a lively sight with hardly a car in sight (Fig.2).[8] Since this stately building dominated the earlier wood and iron mining town, it later became a symbol and target for Boer artillery during the Siege of 1899.

Tourism and Pedestrian Values

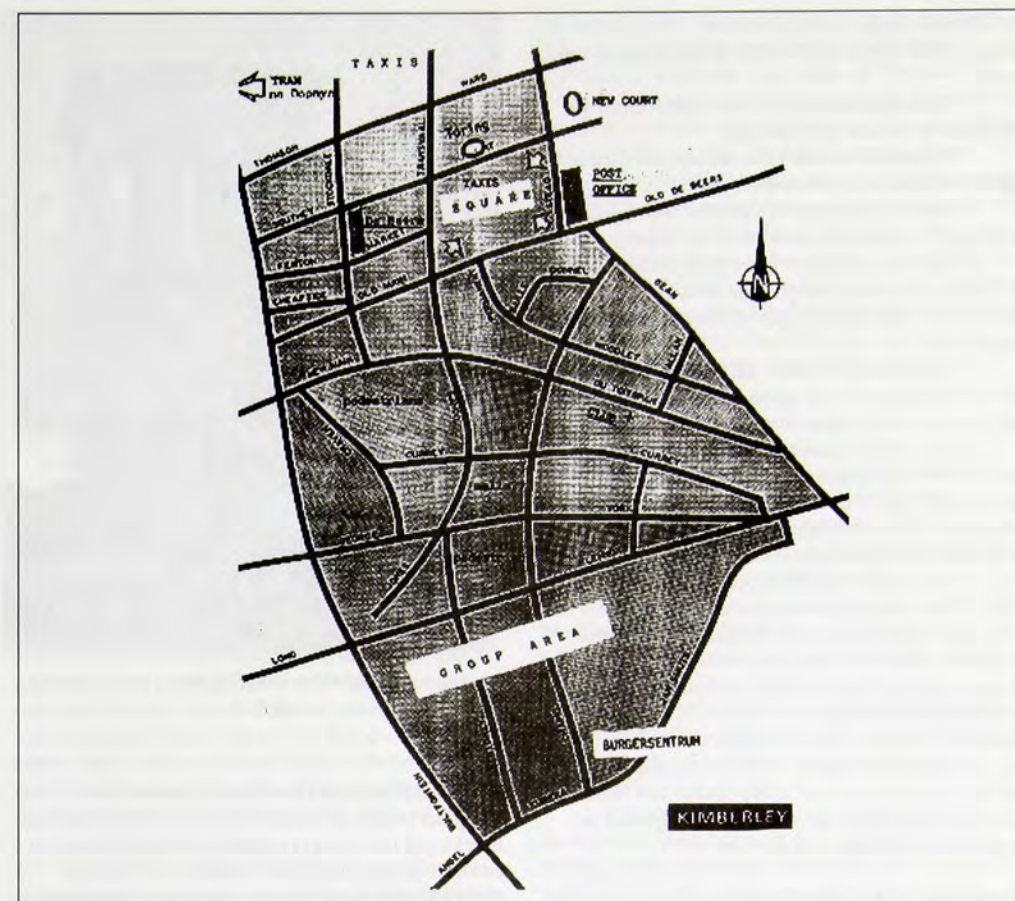Selected aspects of tourism and pedestrian values are now discussed. One may criticise the authorities for their part in the destruction of historic buildings, and then advocate stronger legal and zoning powers, but economic forces are such that few historic buildings are safe without legal safeguards or innovative mechanisms. McNulty reminds us that market forces are short-term, but environmental concerns are long-range.[9] Private developers, therefore, require guidelines in an attempt to harmonise the different time scales between conservation and development.

Tourism and conservation can enjoy a symbiotic relationship. For example, the conservation of heritage draws tourists and, in turn, the historic fabric can be put to new uses.[10] At Basel in 1985, Johnson argued for the conservation of the fabric of towns, buildings and places which may not have great artistic merit, but which make an essential contribution to the sense of place, function and context.[11] These qualities are important both to the local community and the tourist. For example, South Africa's traditional pioneer mines and home industries not only. provide a sense of tradition and improve the appearance of selected towns but also amount to built-in tourist assets. In the Eastern Transvaal, Pilgrims Rest and its conservation point the way for Kimberley.

We need not be ashamed of the powerful part that sentiment and symbolism play in conservation. There are also shared cultural and group values, and the way in which 'streetscape' has evolved over time may reinforce important symbolic values. Sentimental values lie at the root of some of our finest community decisions. Many buildings are symbols of a particular era, and cannot be replaced by plastic replicas, but they can be demolished or neglected.[12]

But just at this historic period of Reconstruction in South Africa, the lack of 'shared cultural values' and priorities could be counter-productive to conservation. Whereas British and Afrikaner cultural conflict dominated the end of the nineteenth century, the end of the twentieth century may see a Black-White conflict. It is well to remember that 80 per cent of the South African population have little or no interest in preserving imported White culture. Until recently it was associated with oppression!

If, however, quality of life is still important in the core of a town or city, then the conflict between man and motor constitutes an important sub-theme in any discussion about conservation. There are various types of damage caused by motor cars. For example, air pollution and acids which eat away materials or vibrations which weaken structures.[13] What about the physical and mental discomfort caused to human beings in their various social and economic activities? In fact, the writer was part of a team which helped the Kimberley Municipality to identify possible traffic-free zones in the city centre, with a view to both conservation and environmental quality.[14]

A follow up study in March 1994 aimed to try to discover people's needs and preferences with regard to routes, public spaces and buildings. The study was also designed to be of use later to decision-makers in the

field of urban design and conservation.[15] Five major findings of the survey might relate to conservation and tourism:

1. Turning movements of cars create danger for pedestrians at corners and crossings.

2. Pavements are often too narrow, and have bad walking surfaces or are cluttered.

3. There is a shortage of informal resting places, particularly for mothers, children and the elderly.

4. The informal sector (pavement vendors) and the minibus taxi are an integral part of the town centre in South Africa, and should be part of appropriate conservation.

5. There should be more use of 'soft' green areas and water features to form an essential contrast with the hard materials that tend to dominate.

Some isolated pedestrian areas have, however, been created. Full marks should be given to the Municipality and de Beers for recreating several pedestrian streets at the Open Mine Museum. En route to the museum one passes the colourful pub, 'Star of the West', not far away from its companion, the 'Australian Arms'. Other historic streetscapes are to be found at the old de Beers Headquarters in Stockdale Street, or the Kimberley Club. Just outside the town are the McGregor Museum and the War Memorial, designed by Sir Herbert Baker of Pretoria and New Delhi fame (Fig. 4). During the Siege of 1899, Cecil Rhodes lived in what is now the McGregor Museum with its splendid verandahs and hall, which was known as the Sanatorium Hotel in those days and which claimed to be "unsurpassed in South Africa for comfort, luxury and style".

Morphology of the Town Centre
A brief description of the Kimberley core area is instructive (Fig. 3). The New Rush of 1871 produced a cross between a tent town and a squatters camp between the Big Hole and the de Beers mine, which forms the present city core (Fig. 1). The streets of early Kimberley literally followed the tracks of the miners' wheelbarrows in a form of 'primitive functional development' which had little resemblance to the surveyor's orderly gridiron in other South African towns, like Bloemfontein.[16]

Thus two man-made geological 'holes' have compressed the core of Kimberley in a north-south direction, rather like a distorted hour glass or diagram of forces. As a result the core area has developed as two nodes, namely the older Market Square in the north and the Civic Centre in the south. A spider's web of streets sprang up between the two mines (east-west) and the two nodes (north-south), with the most important north-south connectors being Jones and Chapel Streets. There have been various schemes for ring routes which have devastated some of the older buildings.

The creation of a 'grand' Civic Centre, and a tendency for new supermarkets to develop in the southern node, south of Lennox Street, are sad results of 'urban removal' under the Group Areas Act. Surrounding the oval-shaped Oppenheimer Gardens (with its miner's sieve) one now finds the municipal offices, the provincial administration, courts and library. In the huge, shadeless parking lots one can picture the humble houses of the Malay Camp, which were removed because their owners had the wrong skin colour. It was also a neat way of privatising an historic area so that large profits could be earned on the sale of the land. Some historic buildings and streetscapes were
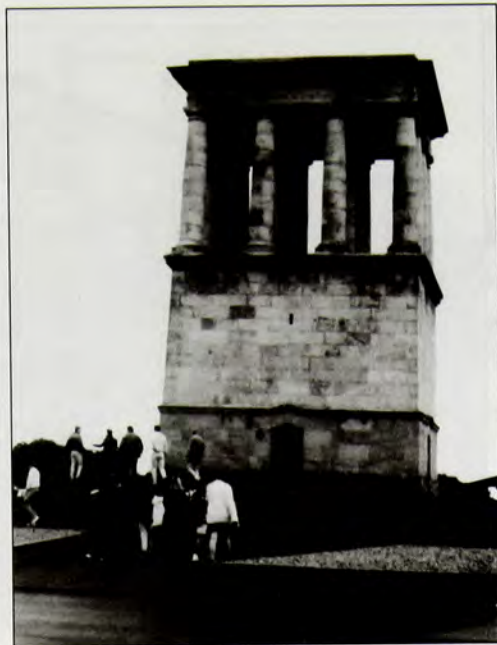
Figure 4. War Memorial, Kimberley (Sir Herbert Baker).

lost in the process, and new development on the triangular portion of land between Lennox, Bultfontein, Eureka and Jan Smuts is suspect, and by definition artificial and socio-political. It distorts the 'natural' morphology of the southern portion of the Kimberley core. Indeed, the Botha era of 'total onslaught' seemed to present no dilemmas for developers!'[17]

Market Square
From the dawn of history, the town square has performed a variety of functions: e.g. church square, market, parade, park or traffic island. In this century, however, the traffic function has dominated all others and tended to subjugate humans in the process. Quite apart from many functions, town squares also have intangible values, such as public property, point of of reference or 'nodal open space'. Writers, like Kevin Lynch and Edmund Bacon, emphasise qualities like imageability or symbolism. In terms of Kimberley, I wish to emphasise the word combination 'public possession and meeting place'. Thus town squares are not simply a couple of vacant blocks 'left over', they also possess important intangible values, like symbolism and sentiment. One of the problems is that 'market forces' do not easily accommodate 'intangible values'.

In the case of Market Square, one would expect it still to function as the symbolic heart of Kimberley, with the many tangible and intangible values which it incorporates. At the crossing of the two major axes, the Old Main and Transvaal Roads, it successfully combines the functions of market place and forum of the people. Its location, half way between the station and Big Hole, makes it both a point of reference and part of the greater cosmic landscape of the Northern Cape. In 1984, a unique blow was struck for conservation when the historic tram route was restored by the municipality to connect the square to the Big Hole and Mine Museum.[18]

While Market Square may contain some poorly

Figure 5. 'Flemish' tower and new skyscraper Post Office on Market Square, Kimberley.

sited elements, the sum of the whole civic space is greater than the individual parts. Picton Seymour mentions the Market Roof of 1907 as a rare example of a pre-fabricated building from Scotland, and declares that its slender cast-iron columns and ornaments give the appearance of a glorified bandstand.[19] On the northern side, one finds the delicate 'Flemish' tower of the old courts, alongside which can now be found a beehive of minibus taxis. There is a lively north-south flow of pedestrians, many of them poorer people taking a logical short-cut to catch their buses and taxis. All in all, this is a lively and adaptable square.

The Market Square should enjoy top priority in any conservation strategy, but unfortunate developments during the past fifteen years have posed many dilemmas and threats. In particular, two large, new government buildings, the new courts and the grey, slab-like post office, now dominate the square. To make way for these two buildings, whose scale and character is out of sympathy with the rest of the square, a quite acceptable

classical building was demolished (Fig. 5). Both are examples of insensitive and remote government decisions, in which the 'mandarins' of Pretoria (first tier) persuaded an 'obedient' municipality (third tier) to exceed the normal bulk and height requirements. While one can understand the 'ethical dilemmas' of the architects involved, all parties must guard against such urban renewal/removal policies in future, no matter what the economic temptation. In its latest 'wise' decision, the municipality has hired out the northern wing of the old Town Hall to a furniture store! Clearly a coherent Urban Design policy is required in Kimberley. Block models of sensitive environments should be built, and all new projects evaluated, so that they fit into a four-dimensional framework.

Conclusions
A number of dilemmas relating to development and conservation exist. These include the following:

1. Public streets and town squares often have no spokesperson or 'guardian angel' and become a football between the authorities and developers.

2. Some decision-makers ignore the needs of the broad public and are insensitive to symbolism and values. New developments may become anti-social or downright racist (Group Areas).

3. The authorities, developers and professions often have conflicts of interest and do not understand the public interest. Ethical behaviour should be more important than private gain.

During the present period of reconstruction, South Africa faces daunting challenges in respect of housing, health, education and welfare, and it is thus difficult to visualise any large-scale state priority for conservation at this stage. In view of Kimberley's unique history and wealth of old buildings, it may get more support from the authorities than other centres, and private sector involvement and tourism could be other factors.

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INVESTIGATING BRITISH POST-WAR PLANNING

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Introduction

Media reminders that 1995 is the 50th anniversary of the end of the Second World War have been impossible to miss. It should, therefore, alert planning historians to the important immediate post-war period of planning and reconstruction: although this might seem relatively recent history, it was a time when the character and appearance of many UK towns underwent immense change. Historians should be considering that the availability of a key data source for understanding the complexity of this period, the individual actors closely involved, is in a terminal decline as individuals age and die.

This paper comments on some investigations into British post-war planning, and the changing face of British cities, with particular reference to recent work on Worcester.[1] This discussion of sources, techniques and approaches is a development of an earlier paper in this journal.[2]

The planning context

The widespread bomb damage during the Second World War provided a major impetus for changing ideas and practices in U.K. planning. The consideration given to post-war reconstruction, even in times when the course of the war was extremely uncertain, in BBC radio talks, in publications such as the Town and Country Planning Association's *Rebuilding Britain* series,[3] the *Planning and Reconstruction Year Book*[4] and in exhibitions organised by the Royal Institute of British Architects led to a consensus that drastic change would be inevitable, particularly in the bomb-damaged areas.[5] Other publications, aimed at the general public, explicitly developed these arguments from their concentration upon wartime damage to the virtually undamaged urban areas.[6] Central government was investigating mechanisms of planning. As early as October 1941, Lord Reith's short-lived Consultative Panel on Physical Reconstruction had virtually completed a draft manual for local authorities on the technique of redevelopment in central urban areas.[7]

By 1945, there was some acceptance that central urban reconstruction should be large-scale, comprehensive, and be facilitated by site acquisition through compulsory purchase powers. Lewis Silkin, the post-war Minister of Town and Country Planning, was reported in the press as being anxious that rapid progress be made in replanning the bomb-damaged cities; but he was also concerned that authorities were not applying for the compulsory purchase orders necessary under the 1944 Town and Country Planning Act[8]. It was in this immediate post-war period that many comprehensive planning documents were produced, often (but not in every case) for the rebuilding of bomb-damaged areas. Little-damaged, but historic, cities, including Salisbury and Worcester, were also active in producing such documents. In the majority of cases, however, these plans were not carried out in full, despite their status as officially-commissioned documents, usually produced by eminent contemporary planners. For example, Thomas Sharp (President of the Town Planning Institute in 1945) was very active, producing plans for, amongst others, Exeter, Oxford, Salisbury, Durham and Todmorden; the fate of his plan for Oxford is instructive.[9] The majority of such plans were comprehensive in nature and extent, proposing radical and large-scale reshaping of urban central areas. Yet few authorities applied for the compulsory purchase powers necessary to carry out such schemes; and, even in these authorities, progress was far from smooth.[10]

An understanding of the national and local planning context is clearly necessary before attempting to unravel the details of local decision-making. Hasegawa's study of three cities is instructive, making extensive use of unpublished material in the Public Records Office for establishing the national context, and local newspapers and local authority committee files and minutes for local context.[11] This material is, however, complex; and locally may be incomplete, or spread among a proliferation of new post-war committees.

Plans and planning

Information on the creation and development of planning policies should be relatively straightforward to elicit from any planning authority. Not only should the policy documents themselves be available, but memoranda and minutes of the relevant committees should be available. All can be subject to content analysis to display the chronological development of particular policies.

In practice, however, many of these documents may not be available. Even published documents from the early post-war period may not survive within the authority; although the local or county archives may contain copies. Similarly, minutes, committee papers etc. from the pre-1974 period seem particularly vulnerable, especially when the authority has moved to new offices, or where they have been stored for many years in damp and unsuitable basements. In searching for documentation it should be remembered, however, that much local authority policy has been shown to be non-statutory, informal, and even unwritten, and thus elusive.[12] Even more difficult to elucidate are the reasonings underlying decision-making. Analyses based solely on formal planning documentation are therefore unsatisfactory, and require support from a variety of other evidence, both documentary and oral, obtained from those active in the planning decision-making process.

Voldman noted that "Many of those who participated in the rebirth of towns destroyed during the Second World War are still alive today and quite willing to satisfy historians' curiosity".[13] Her research is a decade old; survivors are becoming more scarce, although it is still possible to identify, and sometimes (but increasingly rarely) to trace and interview, planning officers active early in the study period. As with all oral history, however, their recollections are variable in quantity and accuracy; and do require cross-checking with other data sources. It is more usual to interview long-serving planning officers whose early service overlapped with those who were key players in the early post-war period, and who can produce second-hand information. With increasing distance from the source, this becomes increasingly anecdotal; but may still have some value.

Much more information is usually available on the changing physical form of the post-war town from planning application files. This source has been the subject of much recent study for a variety of settlements over periods of several decades.[14] If the files are retained complete, either in original form or microfilm/fiche, much can be recovered on the formal operation of the development control system from application forms, decision notices, plans and elevations, internal memoranda etc. Ready identification of many of the agents active in the process may allow follow-up interviews and cross-checking with other sources, including local newspapers. Punter's study of office development in Bristol is an excellent example of such painstaking work.[15]

Using such data, a virtually complete picture of development, and the actors involved and forces shaping it, could be built up for any area in the post-1947 period. Early planning files are very thin, but more and more information accumulates in the files of more recent decades. With this complex picture to hand, it is relatively simple to arrive at a good overview of recent planning history. Nevertheless, some aspects may demand deeper study; one of which involves the design influences at work.

Architects and designs

Identifying the `architect' for any development is not a straightforward process. No official form involved in the development control process requires the architect's name. Close inspection of the manuscript drawings, where they survive, may often allow identification. In a number of cases, the drawer of the plan is not an architect. Indeed, it has been estimated that some 90% of plans submitted - albeit for relatively minor changes -
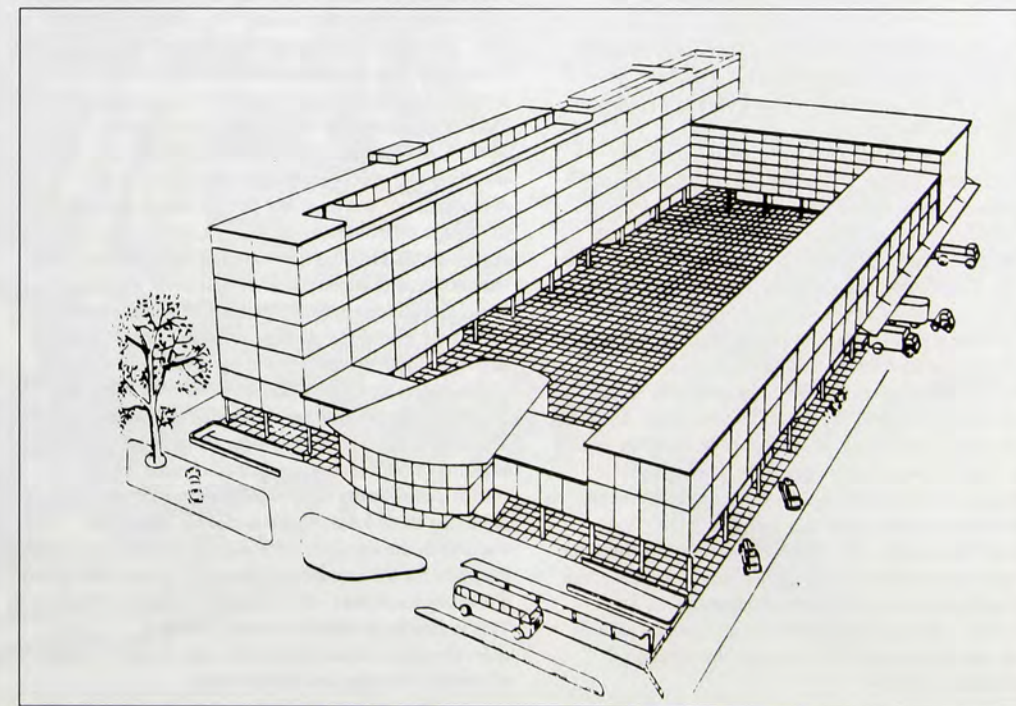

Figure 1. Modernist shopping centre proposal, from Glaisyer et al. (1946), p. 305.

have not involved an architect.[16] Those describing themselves as `architects' must, in law, have architectural qualifications (Architects Registration Act). But not all qualified architects are members of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), and the proportion of members appears to fall throughout the post-war period.

Should an architect be identified, then the researcher may attempt to find out more about the individual or practice, in order to ascertain any professional linkages or, perhaps, educational influences which may have affected the style used. Several studies, for example Whitehand's work on Northampton and Watford,[17] have searched for obituaries of architects, from which useful information has been recovered. For the smaller, local, architect, files of local newspapers can be most useful. For larger or more influential architects and practices, the Avery Obituary Index of Architects may assist, as it contains over 17,000 entries (albeit with worldwide coverage and also including art historians, city planners and others).[18] Past issues of publications of professional bodies may also be of use. The RIBA publish an annual Directory of Members currently containing some 28,000 entries; together with an irregularly-issued Directory of Practices, which may allow researchers to trace the rise and fall of practices, or the movement of individuals from one to another.[19] The RIBA is also involved in constructing an on-line database of RIBA membership nomination papers, giving names, addresses, date of election, description of professional education, and list of buildings designed; but this is limited in chronological coverage.[20] However, as has been suggested, not every architect can be found in these sources.

The implication of the elusive nature of architects' identities, and information about them even when identified, is that researchers are forced to draw inferences on the influences affecting their creative work, and therefore on their influence and impact upon the built environment. To do so with any degree of usefulness requires a sound knowledge of recent architectural history and influences within the region being studied and, increasingly, awareness of Metropolitan, national and even international influences. Even when identified, traced and interviewed, architects active in the post-war timespan of several recent studies have proved extremely reluctant to discuss stylistic influences on their own work or the categorisation of their buildings into particular stylistic types. "Style, period, date, authorship - the endless existing obsession with them that enters into so much that is written about architecture is not of lasting consequence".[21] Such processes, obviously of interest to researchers of built form, are apparently felt to demean the architects' individual creativity.

The developer
Little is often known of the developer in the process.

Obviously this is a key player, yet identities of companies may change through the history of any one site; shell or holding companies may be involved; and in some cases clients' identities are protected. Commercial confidentiality obstructs much academic research. Company records may be inspected at Companies House (or, for more recent events and at a cost, through on-line databases). Yet such records are generally obscure to the non-specialist and tell little of the motives for involvement in any particular site or development. Regrettably, since the developer is often the key instigator of the process, motives and activities remain obscure and, once again, the researcher has to depend upon informed speculation. This is as true of the 1990s as of the 1940s.

The Worcester example
Worcester began early preparations for post-war redevelopment. In 1943 the City's Reconstruction and Development Committee commissioned the Commerce Department at Birmingham University to undertake a major economic and social survey of the district, which was published in 1946.[22] The report's terms of reference allowed the authors "to suggest ... some possible lines of development and to recommend, where appropriate, those that appear to contribute best to the future of the City". It was stressed that these were not official proposals. All suggested buildings and plan layouts were Modern in style (Figure 1). Only 24 buildings and parts of streets were noted as worthy of preservation.

In 1944, the Reconstruction and Development Committee commissioned the planning and architectural consultants, Minoprio and Spencely, to prepare an Outline Development Plan based largely on the findings of the Civic Survey. The Plan was published two years later.[23] It had many similarities with many of the contemporary `master plans' for the post-war rebuilding of historic cities already mentioned, particularly in its emphases on new road construction and widening, land-use zoning, and construction of new civic buildings.[24] New road alignments were planned; the majority of the remaining mediaeval alignments were to be widened, new buildings constructed and the entire river frontage cleared of its slums and industry. The river front area was to be redeveloped for substantial public buildings and open space. Few of the older street-blocks and buildings would remain unscathed (Figure 2). In common with many such redevelopment proposals, including those for the cities suffering significant wartime bomb damage, there is little evident concern in the plans for the retention of any older fabric other than a few key landmarks - the Guildhall and some churches. This is clearly an idealist view of post-war redevelopment, where lip-service only is paid to issues of context, heritage and conservation.

This `master plan' was not implemented to any great extent. In many ways it was overtaken by the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, the evident problems

of compulsory purchase (as seen in other bomb-damaged cities) and the practical problems of the rationing of construction material which continued into the mid-1950s. It was, however, influential in shaping subsequent plans that were, more or less, adhered to; although the Statutory Development Plan of 1954 and its revision of 1963 were essentially zoning plans with major road projects, essentially diminishing the Minoprio and Spencely proposals.[25] Few of the proposed new roads were built, although the City Walls ring road was built in part during the 1980s, and some public buildings were constructed in the cleared waterfront area. But the implementations were very different in form from those envisaged in 1946.

Officers of Worcester City Council today see the uncertainty in the implementation of plans since the war as a legacy, leaving half-completed schemes such as the Blackfriars Shopping Centre (now substantially refurbished as the Crowngate centre) car park which bridged a road which was never built, and unsightly staggered building frontages, a result of now-redundant building lines.[26] Had the plans been completed in full, some of these problems may never have occurred. The

piecemeal results of post-war planning have a number of implications for planning in the 1990s. Traffic congestion is a continuing problem within the city centre, even after construction of a second bridge and outer bypasses which have reduced pressure from increased through-traffic flows. The City Walls Road, the only significant proposal of Minoprio and Spencely's to be realised, enabled the major post-war environmental improvement of a pedestrianised High Street, Shambles and Friar Street. Traffic still has to wind around many narrow streets, but today this is seen as an advantage in managing traffic speed and capacity, with pavements even being widened in some places as part of a broad transportation policy.

If some of the decision-making processes recorded in planning files are examined in detail, some interesting influences can be seen at work. Particularly significant for the character and appearance of Worcester is the pressure exerted upon developers to Georgianize their originally Modernist/International styled proposals (Figure 3). However, the behaviour of the planning authority is, at first sight, contradictory. It both approved and refused planning permission for
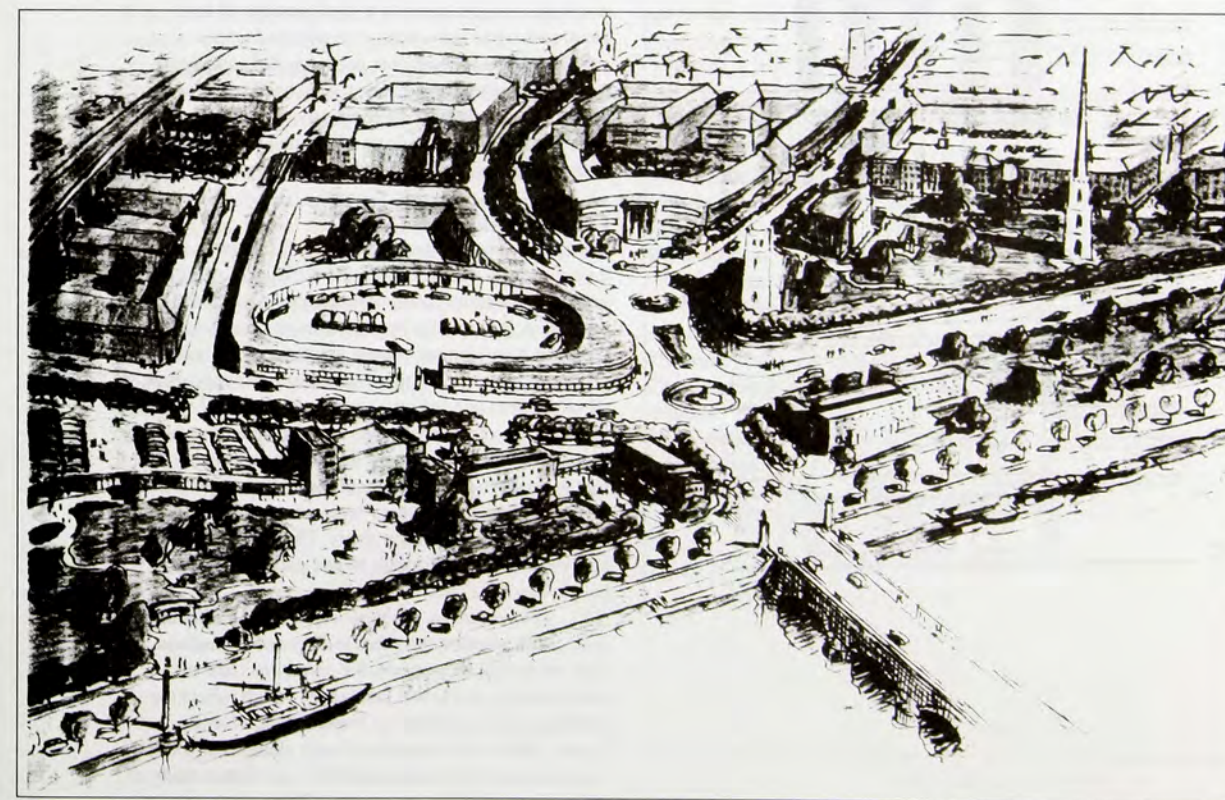

Figure 2. The proposals for the eastern bridgehead district, from Minoprio and Spencely (1946).
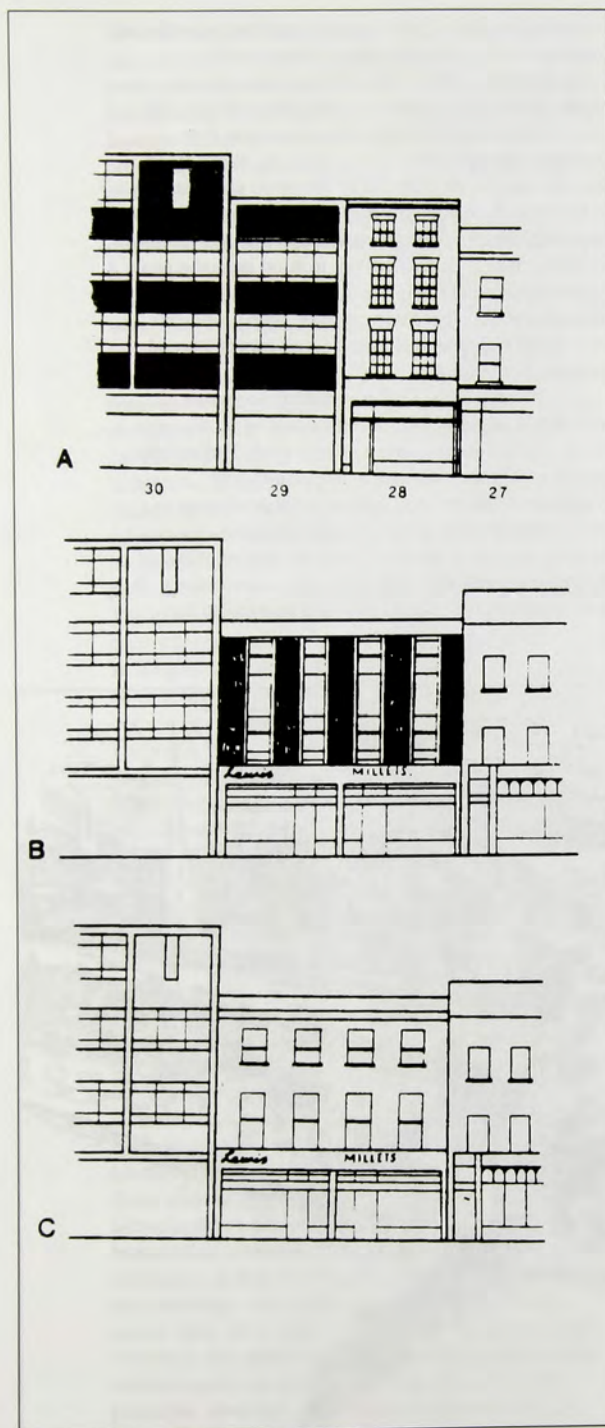
modern architectural projects, it amended some proposals to appear more Modern, and some to be more vernacular or Georgian. The reason for this apparent inconsistency is not easy to discern, because in no one case was such a change the result of a formal decision, and thus virtually no documentary evidence of the attitudes of the planning authority exist in these cases. Even the minutes of planning committee meetings are inconclusive as to the motives underlying such changes to proposals. However, some clues which at least partially address this problem can be found. The reticent attitudes towards modernism on the part of the planning officers is usually, although there are many exceptions, found when one or more of the following circumstances are given: a greater reluctance to see Modern styles used for buildings between others than for isolated buildings or corner sites; similarly for the frontage of small plots rather than for large ones; more for plots previously occupied by Georgian buildings - even when dealing with buildings of relatively little architectural value - than with others; and, finally, more in the principal commercial streets than in those considered to be of secondary importance.

It should, however, be noted that discussions with planning officers suggest that this pro-Georgian emphasis may be traced to a small number of key personnel at the time, who were able to exercise considerable influence over the form of the changing urban landscape. Nevertheless, the significance of the planning authority in influencing the metamorphosis of development proposals from Modernist styles to ones with clear Georgian/Classical references was significant.

Concluding comments

It is easy to be complacent about such relatively modern history, and to underestimate the difficulties of its study. Although, in many cases, considerable documentation does exist, it is usually by no means comprehensive. Even the development control system records only proposals which reach the stage of formal application; all other ideas and informal proposals are lost. In short, what we can recover when studying the planning history of the post-war town is very much a partial history. We rely to a surprising extent upon the educated guess based on incomplete data, heresay and, most importantly, experience of comparative study. These studies will become even more difficult as one data source, the people involved, die.

Nevertheless, the post-war town is a fascinating place, with planning histories redolent of aspirations, high ideals and utopianism, but sometimes low on practicability; and urban landscapes which reflect the working-out, to a greater or lesser extent, of these factors. While the dynamics of such change can still be reconstructed with some credibility, the further study of this period should be encouraged. There are lessons to be learned, too, for the future planning of the same places.

Figure 3. Changing designs for 28-29 High Street, redrawn from planning applications.

NOTES

1. This research is published elsewhere as G.D. Woodward and P.J. Larkham, P.J., *Ideal and Reality in Planning: Post-War Development in Worcester*, Working Paper no. 56, School of Planning, University of Central England, 1994; and J. Vilagrasa and P.J. Larkham, 'Post-war redevelopment and conservation in Britain: ideal and reality in the historic core of Worcester', *Planning Perspectives* Vol. 10 No. 2, 1995.
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3. Town and Country Planning Association, *Rebuilding Britain Series*. Faber, London, 1941 onwards.
4. F.J. Osborn (ed.), *Planning and Reconstruction Year Book*. Todd, London, 1942 onwards.
5. J. Hasegawa, *Replanning the Blitzed City Centre*. Open University Press, Buckingham, 1992, p. 6.
6. For example, Anon., *Planning for Reconstruction*. Architectural Press, London, undated, c. 1943.
7. Hasegawa, 1992, p. 8 and note 17.
8. *The Times* 18 January 1946; see also Hasegawa, 1992, pp. 90-1.
9. T. Sharp, *Oxford Replanned*. Architectural Press, London, 1948; very little of this scheme was implemented in Sharp's form.
10. See the cases of Coventry, Bristol and Southampton discussed in Hasegawa, 1992, pp. 110-125.
11. Hasegawa, 1992.
12. See, for example, M.J. Bruton and D.J. Nicholson 'The use of non-statutory local planning instruments in development control and Section 36 Appeals, Part 1', *Journal of Planning and Environment Law*, August 1984 pp. 552-565.
13. D. Voldman, 'Reconstructors' tales: an example of the use of oral sources in the history of reconstruction after the Second World War', in Diefendorf, J.M. (ed.) *Rebuilding Europe's Bombed Cities*. Macmillan, London, 1990.

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19. Royal Institute of British Architects, *Directory of Members*. RIBA, London, annual; RIBA, *Directory of Practices*. RIBA, London, irregularly published.
20. Royal Institute of British Architects, *British Architectural Biography*. On-line database. RIBA, London, 1988 onwards.
21. A comment by the architect Stephen Dykes Bower when reviewing his life's work at the age of 90; published in *Perspectives on Architecture* Vol. 2, Issue 10, 1995, p. 16.
22. J. Glaisyer, T. Brennan, W. Ritchie and P. Sargant Florence, *County Town: A Civic Survey for the Planning of Worcester*. John Murray, London, 1946.
23. A. Minoprio and H. Spencely, *Worcester Plan: an Outline Development Plan for Worcester*. Worcester City Council, Worcester, 1946. Minoprio also directed the similar survey for Chelmsford, published in 1945, with a preface by Abercrombie.
24. G.D. Woodward, 'Ideal and reality in planning: post-war Worcester', unpublished BSc dissertation, School of Planning, University of Central England, 1993.
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26. Worcester planning officers, personal communications.

Carl Abbott, *The Metropolitan Frontier: Cities in the Modern American West,* Tucson and London: University of Arizona Press, 1993, 244pp., ISBN 0 8165 1129 2, Cloth $29.95.

This important book not only traces the critical role cities have played in the development of the West since World War II, but also argues that those cities also personify the three mystic images of the West as an area of democracy, opportunity and individual fulfilment. In addition, the author explains why these cities have become national pace-setters and expressions of new urban trends. (Michael Konig, Westfield State College, Massachusetts.)

M. Bunce, *The Countryside Ideal: Anglo-American Images of Landscape,* London: Routledge, 1994, 232pp., ISBN 0 415 10435 1, Cloth £40.00, ISBN 0 415 10435 1 Paper £12.99.

This book is a comprehensive account of the way attitudes to the countryside are embedded in a long history of urban-based growth and change. It exemplifies its main theme of the cultural basis of the rural ideal by Anglo-American comparisons, contrasting the English ideal with the more functional approaches evident in much of North America. The book is richly and appositely illustrated.

Marion Brion, *Women in the Housing Service,* London and New York: Routledge, 1994, 281pp., ISBN 0 415 08094 0, Cloth £45.00.

This is a scholarly study of the history of women in professional housing management in Britain. The book covers the years from Octavia Hill's death in 1912 through the Society of Women Housing Estate Managers 1932-48 and their amalgamation with the Institute of Housing in 1965. It shows clearly the high price their members paid for opening up the profession they created to men. The new organisation was soon dominated

by men, even though the women's organization had provided better training and evolved a deeper social philosophy.

Patricia Burgess, *Planning for the Private Interest: Land Use Controls and Residential Patterns in Columbus, Ohio, 1900-1970,* Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1995, 258pp., ISBN 0 8142 0632 8, Cloth $59.50.

This book provides an insightful and accurate account of both public and private land-use planning in Columbus, Ohio from 1900 to 1970. It convincingly argues that the private sector determined the pattern of development in Columbus with public decision makers merely acquiescing to the desires of property owners. (Jon C. Teaford, Purdue University, Indiana.)

Donatelli Calabi, *Il Mercato e la Citta,* Venice: Marsilio, 1993, 270pp., ISBN 88 317 5833 9, 48,000 lire.

This book, written in Italian, explores the role and importance of markets in the life of western European cities from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. The book is divided into two parts: the first focusing on the markets in the context of the city, and the second focusing on specific market buildings. A rich variety of cities are used to exemplify the study, including Venice, Florence, Paris, London, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Nuremberg, Lubeck, Augsburg, Seville and others. There are many illustrations.

Manuel Castells and Peter Hall, *Technopoles of the World: The Making of Twenty-first Century Industrial Complexes,* London and New York: Routledge, 1994, 275pp., ISBN 0 415 10014 3 Cloth £45.00, ISBN 0 415 10015 1 Paper £14.95.

This book explores the geography of the information revolution; economic development where the principal ingredient is knowledge rather than capital or

repetitive labour. It mainly takes the form of descriptive analyses of science cities, science parks, technopolises, technoparks and the like in the USA, Japan, Korea, France, the former USSR, Australia and Spain. Some attention is also given to the traditional metropolis as an innovative milieu, focusing on London, Paris and Munich. The book draws general lessons about economic development for the twenty-first century.

Dora P. Crouch, *Water Management in Ancient Greek Cities,* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, 380pp., ISBN 0 19 507280 4, Cloth £60.00.

This is a richly illustrated account of the way in which access to water structured the development of the ancient Greek city. The account is very detailed, with much original use of data. Water management is viewed as a totally integrated system, giving attention to supply, delivery and disposal. The book gives many insights into the layout and functioning of the ancient city.

J.B. Cullingworth and V. Nadin, *Town and Country Planning in Britain,* 11th Edition, London: Routledge, 1994, ISBN 0 415 10708 3, Paper £14.99.

This is an extensively revised, new edition of a standard British textbook. It has an entirely new chapter on heritage planning (the chapter on regional planning in previous editions has now been deleted). It continues to contain much insightful and informed narrative and comment about the development and recent changes in the British planning system.

Philip J. Ethington, *The Public City: The Political Construction of Urban Life in San Fransisco, 1850-1900,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, 464pp., ISBN 0 521 41565 9, Cloth $54.95.

This book applies the 'new institutionalism' in its analysis of San Fransisco's political history. As a result, it rejects efforts to explain the city's stormy municipal experience as a function of class or ethnic conflicts or business or professional interests. Rather, it argues that 'the social-group conception of politics' was itself a product of Gilded Age political competition and debate. (Alan Lessoff, Texas A & M University.)

Andreas Faludi and Arnold van der Valk, *Rule and Order: Dutch Planning Doctrine in the Twentieth Century,* Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1994, 313pp., ISBN 0 7923 2619 9 , Cloth Dfl 170.00, $99.50, £68.00.

This book, written in English, is a very full examination of the development of Dutch planning in this century. It pursues several themes, including planning theory, the planning system, planning methodology and the historiography of Dutch planning. Its message is a broadly conservative argument that Dutch planning ought to continue on generally accepted lines. It is supplemented by a very full bibliography of works on Dutch planning written in English.

Helen Fessa-Emmanouil, *Public Architecture in Modern Greece,* Athens: Papasotiriou, 1993, 120pp. (Greek-English text.)

This book focuses on buildings for public use (administration, commercial, office, hotel, school, etc.), with the exception of churches. It is an introduction to the history of such buildings, approaching the subject from a fresh perspective. The book is especially valuable because the author not only offers an analysis of the buildings, but also contributes to the understanding of

the thinking of the people who financed their construction.

J.M. Fladmark (ed.),*Heritage: Conservation, Interpretation and Enterprise,* Wimbledon: Donhead, 1993, 355pp., ISBN 1 873394 13 6, Cloth £35.00.
J.M. Fladmark, *Cultural Tourism,* Wimbledon: Donhead, 1994, 413pp. ISBN 1 87394 15 2, £40.00.

These two volumes contain the papers presented at the conferences on heritage held at the Robert Gordon University, Aberdeen in 1993 and 1994. Each volume contains some thirty essays, most of which are between 3,000 and 5,000 words in length. The main focus is on Scottish developments in heritage, though there are a number of more conceptual or comparative pieces. Both works are very diverse, reflecting the different backgrounds and approaches of the contributors. They are readable, the presentation is attractive and much of the detailed content is fascinating.

Rose Gilroy and Roberta Woods, *Housing Women,* London and New York: Routledge, 1994, 279pp., ISBN 0 415 09462 3 Cloth £40.00, ISBN 0 415 09463 1 Paper £12.99.

This edited collection is a useful sourcebook for those who want quick access to the state of the art on women and housing. The book gives particular emphasis to disadvantaged women within the housing system, though it focuses more on their disadvantage as women than because of their class or employment status.

Mike Greenberg, *The Poetics of Cities: Designing Neighbourhoods that Work,* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1995, 288pp., ISBN 0 8142 06656 5 Cloth $59.00, ISBN 0 8142 0657 3 Paper $20.00.

This book is an unabashed polemic in the Jane Jacobs-Lewis Mumford tradition that seeks to improve American cities by promoting community within them. The author's focus is on how to

develop neighbourhoods that work, and this leads him into several thoughtful discussions of urban design supported by photographs and drawings. The author convincingly demonstrates how attention to detail (e.g., sidewalks) can profoundly enhance streetscape character. (Paul H. Gleye, Montana State University.)

M. Guardia, F.J. Monclus, J.L. Oyon, *Atlas Historico de Ciudades europeas, Vol.1 : Peninsula Iberica,* Barcelona: Centre de Cultura Contemporania de Barcelona-Salvat editores, 1994, 335pp., 696 colour maps and illustrations, ISBN 84 3455681-2, Cloth 8,000 pts.

This volume is the first of a project which will analyse the formation, development and current configuration of more than one hundred European cities, using a series of historical maps, graphs, photographs, explanatory texts and thematic maps, specially prepared for this series. Bringing together a number of specialists to provide a wide-ranging and comparative approach, the Atlas aims to combine research and educational objectives. The first volume provides coverage of eleven cities in the Iberian Peninsula. It is only available in Spanish at the moment.

Andy C. Pratt, *Uneven Production: Industry, Space and Society,* Oxford: Pergamon, 1994, ISBN 0 08 040486 3 Cloth £58.00, ISBN 0 08 040487 1 Paper £24.95.

This book examines the role of industrial estates in economic development, using a critical realist conceptual framework. The early chapters focus on the theoretical aspects of the study. The middle chapters give attention to the history of industrial estate development. The later chapters exemplify the approach in relation to industrial development in Cornwall.

PUBLICATIONS

John W. Reps, *Cities of the Mississippi: Nineteenth Century Images of Urban Development*, Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1994, 342pp., ISBN 0 8262 0939 4 Cloth $85.00.

Professor Reps has produced a handsome and informative volume on Mississippi River towns and cities. He provides a number of drawings and lithographs and explains how they were used in the nineteenth century. The artists and printers provided their pictures for commercial interests, such as boosters and railroads, while others painted for the local audience. These pictures were another way to encourage settlement in the West, and provide scholars with an important tool in understanding that process. (Christopher Morris, University of Texas at Arlington.)

James Simmie (ed.), *Planning London*, London: UCL Press Ltd, 1994, 192pp., ISBN 1 85728 1, Cloth £35.00, ISBN 1 85728 058 X, Paper £11.95.

Intended as a textbook for students in planning, geography and urban studies, *Planning London* provides both an introduction to the problems and practices of planning in general

and an illustration of them using the London region in particular. London — a 'world city' — is in a mess: decrepit public transport, congestion, noise, dirt, crime, poverty, begging, homelessness are the issues addressed in this volume of essays by staff at the Bartlett School of Planning at University College London. The book provides the historical background to these current problems and considers jobs, housing, transport and the quality of the environment and the relationship between these different factors. The book also includes an assessment of conflicting interest groups, the effects of changes in planning practice and London's position in the global and regional economies. A conclusion by Peter Hall reviews the past and weighs up the outlook for the future. (Michael Harrison, University of Central England.)

J.Taylor, J.G. Lengelle and C. Andrew, *Capital Cities/Les Capitales: International Perspectives*, Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1994, ISBN 0 8862 9178 X Cloth £39.95, ISBN 0 8862 9179 8 Paper £19.95.

These are the proceedings of a conference held in Ottawa in 1990 on the theme of capital cities. There are about twenty papers, one-

third of which are in French. There are many different disciplinary and thematic approaches in the book, including much that is of great interest. There is, however, no single message to emerge.

J.A. Yelling, *Slums and Redevelopment: Policy and practice in England, 1918-1945, with particular reference to London*, London:UCL Press, 1994, 224pp., ISBN 1 85728 010 5, Cloth £35.00.

Based on intensive documentary research, this is the first full-scale study of the politics of the slum question in England between the two world wars. The inter-war period has two major points of interest. It sees the restoration of slum clearance after a period of opposition and the onset of the first national slum clearance campaign. It reaches its climax in the plans for large-scale redevelopment made during World War II. The book moves between national policy formulation and detailed local studies, particularly of London, studies involving landlords and property, tenants and rehousing, and the implementation of programmes. It is a study of practice as well as policy.

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

The prime aim of *Planning History* is to increase awareness of developments and ideas in planning history in all parts of the world. In pursuit of this, contributions (in English) are invited from members and non-members alike for any section of *Planning History*. Non-native English speakers, please do not worry if your English is not perfect. The editor will be happy to help improve its readability and comprehension, but unfortunately cannot undertake translations.

The text for PH is prepared by using MacWrite II and the journal is designed in Pagemaker v.4.2. Contributions on disk compatible with this software are encouraged along with accompanying hard copy.

ARTICLES

These should be in the range of 2,000-3,000 words. They may be on any topic within the general remit of IPHS and may well reflect work in progress. Illustrations should be supplied as Xerox copies for line drawings or as good quality black and white photographs where there are half tones. Articles should normally be referenced with superscript numbers and a full reference list at the end.

OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS

Other types of contribution are also very welcome. Research reports should not be more than 2,000 words. They need not be referenced, but any relevant publications should be listed at the end. Illustrations where provided should conform to the above notes. Similar short pieces on important source materials, aspects of planning history practice (e.g. conservation) are also encouraged. Abstracts of relevant publications originally published in a language other than English are requested. They should follow the format in this issue.

NOTICES OF CURRENT EVENTS

These are welcome from any part of the world. Organisers of events should, however, bear in mind that PH is only published three times a year, normally in April, August and December. Please try to ensure that Calls for Papers etc. are notified sufficiently in advance for inclusion. Later inserts are possible, at the time of dispatch, though sufficient copies, folded as required, must be supplied by the event organiser. Nothing larger than a single A4 sheet will be accepted. Every effort will be made to include such inserted news material without cost. However, the Editor reserves the right to charge for such material at normal advertising rates.

NOTES FOR ADVERTISERS

Planning History has a circulation of approximately 400, reaching most of the world's active planning historians, mainly in academic institutions. Publishers in particular will find it a useful way of publicising new books. Advertisements can be carried either printed within the magazine or as inserts. Sufficient copies of inserts must be supplied in good time for despatch. Advertisements printed in the magazine must be supplied camera ready and respect normal deadline times. The usual charge is £50 for up to a single A4 sheet or page. Multiple page inserts will be accepted pro rata.

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